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PRESENTED BY

JULIUS CÆSAR BURROWS

The Only Living "Columbian Orator."

SHALLOW DEMAGOGUE UNMASKED.

"I once thought I was in favor of electing United States Senators by direct vote of the people, but I could not vote for it now, because the people cannot be trusted."—*Julius Cæsar Burrows, in address before Students at the Baptist College at Kalamazoo, September, 1894.*

"You can fool *some* of the people *all* the time. You can fool *all* the people *some* of the time. But you can't fool *all* the people *all* the time."—*President Lincoln.*

"*I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him.*"

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT,

JUNE 5TH, 1900.



It seems proper to state that owing to serious illness in my family, as well as my own severe illness, necessitating my absence from Washington most of the time since January 25th last, that I should state that it was my purpose to submit a petition or memorial to the Senate making certain statements and charges impeaching the integrity, personal and official, of Julius Cæsar Burrows, the junior Senator from the State of Michigan, and tendering to the Senate proof in support of the specific charge that the election of Mr. Burrows to the Senate, to fill the vacancy occurring by the death of Francis B. Stockbridge, as well as for the full term of six years commencing with March 4, 1899, was procured by bribery and corruption of the grossest character. This pamphlet was prepared for presentation to the Republican caucus, which met at Lansing early in January, 1899. By reason of personal illness, and the theft of the manuscript from my office, it was impossible to secure its printing and presentation to said caucus until the day before it met *and then it was*

The candidacy of the gentleman who opposed Mr. Burrows—Mr. Albert Pack—differed only from that of Mr. Burrows in that Mr. Pack spent his own money to secure his election, about which he was really not specially solicitous, preferring rather to control—as he stated to me and others—two committees in each house of the legislature of Michigan than to be U. S. Senator; and that in the closing hours of the contest for Senator, he made an alliance with Mr. Burrows, offensive and defensive, as to the future, which made it impossible for the friends of honest elections and government to secure an investigation of the methods by which Mr. Burrows was chosen Senator at that time. Mr. Pack is dead, but in the interest of truth and justice, of good government and political purity, I submit now, under great disadvantage, a memorial making this pamphlet exhibit "A" thereof with the promise that during the recess between the present session and the second session of the Fifty-sixth Congress, I will furnish the names of persons who will give testimony and furnish evidence of the truth of all the charges herein made, as well as others which will hereafter be presented, to whatever committee the Senate may charge with the investigation of these allegations and statements.

HENRY H. SMITH.

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A PERSONAL STATEMENT.

It is due myself, as well as a proper explanation to the members of the legislature, that I should say that but for the fact that either during the last week in November or the first week of the present month a carefully prepared package containing nearly three hundred type and hand written pages of manuscript, the result of nearly three years' work of mine, giving a compact history of the Congressional as well as personal career of Senator Julius Caesar Burrows since 1870, was stolen from a roller-top desk in my office, room 41, Kellogg Building, this city. *this pamphlet would*

Immediately after the election of Mr. Burrows to the Senate in January, 1895, I commenced this work, which fact is well known to at least a dozen prominent gentlemen in Michigan—as well as half a dozen gentlemen here—with whom I have conversed on the subject, and to whom I have shown portions, if not all, of this manuscript. When it was finally completed, last spring, there were nearly eight hundred type and hand written pages, and it contained the record of every vote Senator Burrows had cast—or “dodged”—in both houses of Congress during his Congressional career. It also contained some printed extracts from Michigan and other papers.

It was my original purpose to print last spring a pamphlet giving this record for the benefit of all the people of Michigan, in order that they might carefully inquire into the charges made and ascertain for themselves the truth or falsity of the statements it contained; but that plan was necessarily changed, for the reason that those opposed to the re-election of Mr. Burrows to the Senate agreed that there should be no announcement of any candidacy against him until later in the spring, or perhaps during the summer. I had been in ill health during most of the summer and fall, and the special work in which I am engaged for the House of Representatives so engrossed my time that my health gave way, and on the 22d of November I was taken very ill, the illness developing into inflammatory

have been issued three weeks ago

rheumatism, confining me to my bed and house for nearly three weeks. After recovering from that, I was attacked by the grip, from which I am still suffering, and when I sought, on the 15th instant, for my package of manuscript at my office, it was gone, and I then discovered for the first time that my desk had been broken open. I had much of the original matter, and nearly all of the original letters. I have copies--many photo-lithographed--of the originals, and if time had permitted, should have published them in this form. This pamphlet has been rewritten under great difficulties, most of the time dictating from my bed or in my room, and I have been out but four or five days, for short periods only, during the last five weeks.

I make this statement in order that it shall not be charged by Senator Burrows and his private secretary that it has been purposely withheld until the last moment and sprung upon the public on the very eve of the Republican legislative caucus to choose a successor to Mr. Burrows. The arrangement of this matter may be criticised as not artistic, but the fact remains that this pamphlet contains the truth and facts which should be known to and investigated by the Michigan legislature before it votes upon the all-important question of electing anybody to the United States Senate for a term of six years. "It is better to be sure than sorry," and I submit this paper with this statement, which can be verified in every particular if necessary.

HENRY H. SMITH.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 31, 1898.*

To the Members of the Michigan Legislature of 1899-1900:

On the 4th of March, 1899, the term of office of Julius Caesar Burrows as Senator from the State of Michigan to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Francis B. Stockbridge will expire. Under the Constitution one-third of the members of the United States Senate go out of office every two years, thus insuring a quorum and making the Senate—unlike the House of Representatives—a permanent body. The constitution of the State of Michigan requires that the new legislature shall meet at the seat of government on the first Wednesday in January biennially, and other clauses provide for the election of a United States Senator to fill a prospective vacancy.

The importance of the office of United States Senator, has grown steadily since the war. In a very able and instructive article, written by Senator George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, on the creation and organization of the Senate,—first published in the *Youth's Companion*, subsequently being printed by the Senate as Document No. 26, 2d Sess. 54th Cong.—Senator Hoar stated that “the framers of the Constitution placed their chief hope in the Senate.” In that article he said :

“In the first place they made it a perpetual body. The President lays down his office at the end of four years. If any obstacle prevent the election or induction of his successor, the executive power itself is in abeyance. The House of Representatives has but a short life. A new one must be organized every two years, and a large part of its term is often consumed in the process of organization.

“But the Senate is indestructible. The Senate, which was organized in 1789 at the inauguration of the Government, abides and will continue to abide, one and the same body, until the republic itself shall be overthrown or until time shall be no more.”

Continuing in this vein, Senator Hoar shows the great importance of the Senate, clothed as it is with the treaty-making power conjointly with the President; of confirming all the important offices of the United States, including the army and navy and all other branches. For that reason it has become a matter of more importance to each State as the Government and States grow in population, strength, and power, that proper selections shall be made of United States Senators by the State legislatures.

Michigan has honored itself in the past by sending some strong men to the Senate. It has also sent some weak men. For another purpose I have compiled the history of Michigan's Senators and Representatives in Congress, and am entirely familiar with the history of each, save, perhaps, that of some of the earlier members, about whom only meagre information can be found. I have been connected with the House of Representatives for twenty years in important positions, and with the Senate two years. Prior to that

I held an important office in the Treasury Department, from the spring of 1865 until my connection with the House in 1870. Since my connection with the House terminated in 1892, I have been present during all the sessions of Congress; been acquainted with the leading members of both Houses, and familiar with the work of each body, and I say upon my honor as a man and citizen, that Michigan never sent a more tricky demagogue and hypocrite or a more dishonest man to either house of Congress than Julius Cæsar Burrows.

I know that I rest under the imputation, sedulously cultivated by Julius Caesar Burrows and his man "Friday" Rose and other hirings, of having a personal grudge; of being a disappointed office-seeker; with being an ingrate and the like, and I propose to briefly show the falsity of these latter charges and the truth of my first assertion as to trickery, hypoerisy, demagoguery, and dishonesty of Julius Cæsar Burrows. This man for the last seven years has tried—and with the assistance of his lobbyist friend "Nat" McKay during the last three—to break me down personally, politically, and financially, and now *my* time, for which I have patiently waited, has come.

I first made the acquaintance of Mr. Burrows in the campaign of 1868, when Gen. Stoughton was a candidate for election to Congress. I heard Mr. Burrows speak a few moments. It required but a few moments to show that he was a shallow sophomoric declaimer, and I did not meet him again until the campaign of 1870. In that year I was elected Secretary of the State Central Committee, Stephen D. Bingham, of Lansing, being Chairman, our headquarters being at that place. The committee organized, and about the last of August I received a private letter from Mr. Burrows asking my assistance in securing appointments for meetings for him in some of the leading cities of the State, especially at Lansing, Jackson, Ann Arbor, and Grand Rapids. He stated that he would be glad to speak as often as the committee desired and would charge the committee but ten dollars per day, with an allowance for his expenses. By the following mail I received a letter from the Hon. Dwight May, of Kalamazoo, protesting against the employment of Mr. Burrows as a campaign speaker by the Republican State Central Committee. General May enclosed a paragraph clipped from the Kalamazoo *Telegraph* saying that Mr. Burrows would probably be in the employ of the committee through the campaign. General May wrote that he made this protest, not only on his own behalf, but also on behalf of prominent Republicans of Kalamazoo, among whom he named H. G. Wells, Allen Potter, Colonel Curtenius, Dr. Stone, editor of the Kalamazoo *Telegraph*, and a half dozen others. General May stated that Mr. Burrows, with a lot of unscrupulous office-seekers, had conspired to defeat the renomination of General Stoughton, then serving his first term as Representative in Congress from that district, and had resorted to the most unscrupulous methods to accomplish their vile purpose. They had procured affidavits from an ex-state's prison-bird defaming General Stoughton, charging him with having sold offices and the like, and saying

that they had stopped at nothing to accomplish his ruin and defeat, and the nomination of Julius Caesar Burrows in his place. General May stated that Mr. Burrows had been an active party in all their infamous proceedings, and had pledged himself that if elected he would give the important offices in the district to the gang of men who were hounding General Stoughton because he would not surrender to their demands. General May concluded his letter by saying :

" This man Burrows has brought disgrace upon the Republican party. Such a man as he should never be employed by the Republican State Central Committee of Michigan, and, as an original Republican, and on behalf of the gentlemen I named, I do most earnestly protest against his employment by the committee."

The matter of employment of speakers had been left to the chairman and executive committee. At the time of the receipt of that letter Mr. Bingham was seriously ill, and the matter was held up for several days. Finally it was decided to employ Mr. Burrows, and that gentleman knows to-day, as well as he did at the time, that I was instrumental in turning the executive committee in his behalf and securing his employment. He made several speeches, and I gratified him exceedingly by assigning him to Ann Arbor. I still have Mr. Burrows' letter thanking me for my kindness to him, and, although in the following campaign I opposed his election, and in 1874 took editorial charge of the Kalamazoo *Gazette*, with the late Dr. Foster Pratt, and had much to do with his defeat, which terminated our acquaintance temporarily, he did not hesitate to ask my support for his nomination and election to the Forty-sixth Congress.

There is another chapter in the career of Julius Caesar Burrows which should be told, but which, yielding to the advice of friends, I will not publish. It is known pretty generally in Kalamazoo and throughout the State, as well as to some extent here, but through no instrumentality of mine.

Such a man—as Senator Stockbridge not only repeatedly stated to me verbally, but wrote—"has no more moral character or sensibilities than a lizard, and a club is the proper argument for him." That is one of the letters which Mr. Burrows has vainly sought by coaxing and treachery to procure, and, if necessary, I will produce it to a committee of inquiry.

Mr. Burrows has stated that I owed my position as Journal Clerk in the House of Representatives and as Assistant Register of the Treasury to him. A brief statement will show the absolute falsity of this claim. When Mr. Burrows came into the Forty-third Congress he found me clerk of the Committee on Claims of the last House, of which the late Governor Blair was chairman. Mr. Burrows, as stated, was defeated for election to the Forty-fourth Congress by Allen Potter, and dropped back into private life. He was a candidate for the Republican nomination to the Forty-fifth Congress, but was defeated by Judge Keightley, of St. Joseph county, and again withdrew into private life. He industriously plotted and planned to defeat Judge Keightley for renomination, denying him the right of

a second term as he had Gen. Stoughton, and succeeded in securing Judge Keightley's defeat and his own nomination. He was nominated, after sharp opposition, to the Forty-seventh Congress and elected, and after another and still more bitter contest was nominated for the Forty-eighth Congress and defeated by George L. Yapple. Mr. Burrows thought this was the end of his political career in Michigan. He cried like a school-boy over his defeat and "refused to be comforted." The reasons which led to his defeat will be stated elsewhere, as this is an outline sketch only of his career. During the Forty-seventh Congress came the incident of the "Brule and Ontonagon grant bill," in which he was guilty of the vilest treachery to the late Senator Stockbridge. So thoroughly ashamed was he of his performance that he sought throughout the entire second session to make arrangements to establish business connections elsewhere. He visited two or three cities, Rochester being the first, in the hope of forming a legal association with Hon. John Van Voorhees, the Representative from that district. Mr. Van Voorhees, however, like the able and cautious lawyer that he is, looked up Mr. Burrows' standing as a lawyer in Michigan, and decided that he did not desire to form a law partnership with him, and the thing fell through. Just then there was a "hegira" of Kalamazoo County people to Dakota. Judge Briggs, formerly Mr. Burrows' law partner, had decided to go there, and Mr. Burrows sought the appointment of Solicitor of the Treasury, with the view of thereby securing prestige, with the ultimate purpose of securing employment from the Northern Pacific Railroad at Bismarck, or some other point along its line. Only a portion of the members of the Michigan delegation indorsed Mr. Burrows' application for Solicitor, Judge Hubbell and an other member refusing to indorse him, and the appointment was made with the distinct agreement that it was to be tendered as a matter of form to Mr. Burrows by President Arthur and was to be declined. The performance was gone through with, and Mr. Burrows as formally declined the office as he had that of Inspector of Internal Revenue in 1868, and, although he never performed the duties of that office for an hour, he put in a claim for payment of salary and expenses of a trip to Washington. All of this is stated elsewhere. At the instance of Mr. Burrows, I visited Philadelphia and saw Mr. Charles B. Wright, then the President of the Northern Pacific Railroad, with whom I was well acquainted. I urged Mr. Burrows' appointment as one of the local attorneys of the road, saying that it was Mr. Burrows' intention to locate at Bismarck, "grow up with the country," and finally come in with Dakota as one of its Senators. When I made this visit Mr. Burrows had not been guilty of the vile treachery to Col. Stockbridge to which I referred. That will also be stated elsewhere. Mr. Wright asked me the names of some of the leading attorneys or lawyers of the State to whom he could write as to Mr. Burrows' standing at the bar. I gave him some thirty names, and was told subsequently that out of twenty-seven replies but three were favorable, and one was from Mr. Burrows' law partner. Mr.

Wright showed me a letter from the late A. B. Maynard, of Detroit, then, I believe, United States District Attorney for the Eastern District of Michigan, in which, after acknowledging receipt of Mr. Wright's letter of inquiry, he said :

"I know but little of Mr. Burrows, who is a local professional politician, who incidentally practices law when out of Congress. He has been defeated twice for the House of Representatives, and also twice for the Republican nomination. I have made inquiry and failed to ascertain that he has ever been connected with an important case, and am frank to say that, as to his ability and qualifications as an attorney, Mr. Burrows is not the first man to bring reproach upon an honorable profession by claiming to be a lawyer."

Mr. Wright wrote me—and I still have his letter—saying that he was satisfied Mr. Burrows was not the man the road wanted as its attorney, and that while he wished Mr. Burrows success politically as a friend of mine, he was very much afraid, from what Mr. Randall had told him, that he would not "come in as one of the Senators from Dakota."

Of Mr. Burrows' experiences in Dakota, it is not necessary to speak. He failed to make a living, and, although, in a formal interview in the Kalamazoo *Telegraph* in May, 1883, he had announced his purpose to "pull up stakes" and leave the State, he returned to Kalamazoo for the purpose of resuming amicable relations with Col. Stockbridge, if possible, and making another attempt for the Republican nomination to the Forty-ninth Congress. The Forty-seventh Congress expired on March 4, 1883. Mr. Burrows did not visit Kalamazoo until the latter part of April. He carefully avoided Col. Stockbridge, as stated, and spent the summer and most of the fall in Dakota, returning late in the fall to Kalamazoo to try his luck once more in the old Kalamazoo district. He succeeded in resuming the amicable relations he desired with the late Senator Stockbridge—after telling him that he (Stockbridge) had a right to kick him (Burrows) from one end of Main street in Kalamazoo to the other for his conduct on the Brule and Ontonagon bill—for that gentleman was anxious to secure the passage of what was known as the bill so named. Col. Stockbridge, then a private citizen, had written numerous letters denouncing Julius Caesar Burrows for his action in defeating that bill in the second session of the Forty-seventh Congress, in the vain hope of securing the nomination for Senator, through the "bunch" of Upper Peninsula votes promised him by Judge Hubbell, which were also promised, as stated, to Mr. Willets, of the Monroe district. I have several letters from Col. Stockbridge on this subject, which it was my purpose to have photo-lithographed and printed; but the robbery referred to, together with my illness, has prevented, although I still have the original letters. After that it was plain sailing with Mr. Burrows, through the favor and friendship of Col. Stockbridge. Mr. Stockbridge had large interests which required occasional legislation, and Mr. Burrows having made his peace, after making the most abject and humiliating apology to Col. Stockbridge for his treachery, had learned one lesson at least,

and that was to be true to the man who paid nearly all the expenses of his Congressional campaigns, loaned him money or indorsed his notes, took him into his family regularly every Sunday when Congress was in session for many years, and incidentally at other times ; and yet, during all this time, Julius Caesar Burrows was secretly maligning, assailing, and attacking the character of his benefactor, Francis B. Stockbridge. All this is well known to Schuyler S. Olds and others. I have before me a letter from one of the most noted magazine writers and a former newspaper writer of great brilliancy. No man's name is wider known in this country than his. Some years ago this gentleman told me that coming over from New York on the train one day Mr. Burrows told him that he (Burrows) would have been in the Senate long before but for the fact that rich men had taken a fancy to get into the Senate from Michigan ; that Thomas W. Palmer's election was secured through the use of money and the influence of great corporate wealth, and that Francis B. Stockbridge had his seat in the Senate bought for him twice.

I also have before me the following letter from Mr. Stockbridge :

“ UNITED STATES SENATE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *September 1st, 1893.*

“ DEAR HARRY: At your earliest convenience please call and see me at my house, as I wish to consult with you as to a matter in which we have a mutual interest.

“ Hastily yours,

“ FRANCIS B. STOCKBRIDGE.”

I called on the Senator that evening and had a long and confidential conversation with him. He told me that his relations with Mr. Burrows, although frank and friendly, were, as a matter of fact, almost unbearable ; that he had learned from reliable sources that Burrows was slandering and villifying him secretly ; that in spite of the fact that he (Stockbridge) had loaned Burrows considerable sums of money and had indorsed his notes for a great deal more, Burrows had circulated rumors affecting his (Stockbridge's) financial standing ; that Burrows was quietly circulating rumors that he (Stockbridge) was liable to drop dead any moment from Bright's disease of the kidneys, and that he was then secretly at work throughout the State securing support as his successor.

Senator Stockbridge narrated many incidents showing the duplicity and hypocrisy of Burrows, which were not all new to me, and I frankly told the Senator some facts which surprised him very greatly. He repeated his great regret that he had allowed himself to be wheedled into forgiving Burrows for his treachery to him in the Brule and Ontonagon bill and helping him back into Congress, and, for that matter, keeping him there. He then said to me, substantially, this, which I wrote out immediately after leaving his house :

“ Harry, I feel that it is my duty to tell you that Mr. Burrows is not only not your friend, but that he is secretly doing all he can to

break you down personally and politically. He says that you have some letters of his which will trouble him some time and that you have three or four letters from me which will trouble him more, and he has asked me to get them from you and destroy them. I have refused to do that, for the reason that you had a right to protect yourself, and I know Burrows to be such a sneak and liar that he would do either of us any dirty trick in his power to advance his own interests. I know to what he refers, and I hope you will keep the letters safely, and you have my permission to publish them at any time you deem necessary, although one—and perhaps two—is marked 'confidential.' I have tried to stop Burrows from this dirty work he has been doing toward you, and have told him that he would come to grief about it; but he insists that it is cold politics, and that if he does not destroy you, you will destroy him. If it were not for the fact that Mrs. Stockbridge likes Washington, and that I have some special interests to look after here this winter, I would resign and divide my time between Kalamazoo, Chicago, and Mackinac. I am thoroughly sick and tired of the hypocrisy of politics, and I would resign from the Senate to-morrow if I could properly do so. I know also from members of the House delegation that Burrows has thrown out hints and suggestions unfriendly to you, and that he has done the same thing wherever he could decently do so. It is not two days since I called him down for an unfriendly fling at you, saying that he owed what he was as a parliamentarian entirely to you, reminding him that he had repeatedly said so years before, and that he had many a time said to me, when we were making our campaigns together, that he appreciated the fact that you had done so much for him and never stood in his way for Congress, as you could have defeated him for renomination most undoubtedly, even if you did not desire the nomination yourself."

I well remember that Senator Stockbridge was deeply affected by this conversation, which brought tears to his eyes, as it did to mine. I had known the Senator since the winter of 1861, when I met him while reading law with Wilson C. Edsell, at Otsego, Allegan county. Mr. Stockbridge had always been my friend, and I had been his. He was a tender-hearted, generous, and forgiving man, and for the last quality Julius Caesar Burrows is to-day indebted for his position in the Senate, as but for the forbearance of Mr. Stockbridge, Mr. Burrows would have remained in private life when he was defeated for the Forty-eighth Congress, on account of his wobbling course on the river and harbor bill of the first session of that Congress, and his broken promises about offices in his district. The interview was a very sad one, for Mr. Stockbridge was not well, and I have never forgotten it and never shall. As stated, I wrote it out promptly, within one hour after reaching my home, and I have the notes precisely as I then wrote them. The sudden death of Senator Stockbridge the following spring was a great surprise to the public, but not to his intimate friends, who knew of his impaired health.

Within six hours after the receipt of the dispatch from Chicago announcing his death, Mr. Julius Caesar Burrows had flooded the State of Michigan with telegrams to prominent Republicans, asking them to wire or write Governor Rich in behalf of his appointment as Senator Stockbridge's successor. Mr. Burrows kept his stenographer and typewriter busy all that day and late that night dictating letters and telegrams to people throughout Michigan, asking them to write or wire Governor Rich to appoint him Senator. To my personal knowledge, he procured an extra book of Western Union franks from the agent here for that purpose, and yet when I called at his office on F street, about 10 o'clock in the morning of May 1, 1894, and asked him the question if he would be a candidate for appointment, he replied, "Not a bit of it. I am content where I am. I don't think that Governor Rich would appoint me anyway, for he doesn't like me, and he never has liked me since we served together in the Forty-seventh Congress. Rich didn't like it because I didn't get him on the Committee on Ways and Means, where he thought he ought to go, and I suppose he will appoint somebody of no account from his town who will keep the place warm for him and allow him to slip into the Senate himself next winter." Later in the day I learned from Mr. Fry, his clerk, as well as from the stenographer and messenger, that Julius Cæsar Burrows was sending out dispatches and letters, as I have stated, requesting recipients to wire or write Governor Rich in his behalf. When I told Mr. Burrows that the rumor was current that he would be a candidate he said, "The rumor be d---d. I am not doing a thing about the matter."

About eleven o'clock he came to my office in the Treasury and asked me to write a laudatory article about him for the *Star*. I wrote the article very unwillingly, and have the original copy in my own handwriting, as corrected and changed by him, from which a typewritten copy was made by my typewriter, and the publication made in the *Star* of May 1, 1894. That publication recited Mr. Burrows' long service in the House, especially on Ways and Means; suggested that he was a "receptive candidate," and generally was of a complimentary character. I hated to write the article, because I knew that Burrows was not my friend; and indeed I knew that he had been secretly inimical to me for several years, because I would not surrender certain letters which he desired. He said to me: "It is no use talking about my being chairman of Ways and Means, although I am next to Reed on the committee. He doesn't like me, and I don't like him, and for that reason I would like to go to the Senate: but, as I told you, Rich will never appoint me, because of the reasons given." I then asked him, "If you are not appointed now, will you be a candidate next winter? If so, you had better start now and look after the candidates for the legislature, especially from your own district and county. There is Colonel Sumner of the city district. He is a good man to have returned, although you treated him very badly about the post-office in 1874. I don't know Miller, the other member, but presume you do." To my astonishment, he replied, "Who is Miller? I don't know any

such man in the legislature from Kalamazoo county." That made me very angry, and I replied very sharply, "Why, you infernal liar, there's a typewritten letter lying there on your desk addressed to him for your signature. I heard you dictating it as I sat in the front room talking with Mr. Fry," and with that I left his office.

Mr. Burrows had charge of the Congressional committee to attend the funeral of Mr. Stockbridge, and, as is customary, had a private coach for that purpose. I had said to him that I would like to go to Kalamazoo and attend the funeral; that I had known Mr. Stockbridge for thirty-three years, during which period we had always been warm personal friends; that I thought it would seem strange to Mrs. Stockbridge and the people at Kalamazoo if I did not come. He remarked rather sharply, "There isn't a vacant berth in the car." A member of the funeral party from here subsequently told me that Burrows said to him on the car, "I shut Harry Smith out of this party for he is 'booming' ex-Governor Blair for appointment to succeed Stockbridge, and he would try to work up a sentiment for Blair's appointment." And this was while Mr. Burrows was pretending to be friendly to me, constantly calling upon me, as he had done for years, for advice and assistance, and just after I had drawn and put in shape the stock-jobbing whiskey-ring investigation resolution, out of which he made several thousand dollars by selling whiskey stock before introducing his resolution, which depressed it seven points, and then buying on the rebound, making money both ways, all of which is narrated in another place.

Our relations during the remainder of the summer and fall were strained. As usual, I went home to vote in November, 1894, and saw Mr. Burrows both prior to and after the election. He denied being a candidate for the Senate against Mr. Patton, and on another occasion admitted it. The last conversation I had with him was in Wortley's jewelry store in Kalamazoo, when I advised him that my note for three hundred dollars, which he had indorsed and which had been discounted by the firm of Corson & Macartney, the then leading stock-broker firm in Washington, was nearly due, and that Mr. Macartney had said that at the expiration of the renewal (90 days) he should expect its payment. I then said to Mr. Burrows:

" You have repeatedly promised to refund money expended by me for your political benefit in the way of attending caucuses, conventions, and incidental expenses in Washington. I have paid out of my own pocket considerable money for you in Washington, and you have repeatedly said, 'Keep an account of this, and when I get a little easier financially, I will meet it. It's all right.' Knowing that you had realized several thousand dollars out of the whiskey-ring resolutions and other speculations, I said that you were abundantly able to meet this note, which would not reimburse me by any means for the money I had paid on your account and for your interest. You replied that you believed that was so, and said again: 'Don't bother yourself about this. I will take care of the note when it matures, as I agreed, but I could not meet it now, because my campaign expenses have been very heavy.'" I did not

then know that Messrs. Blodgett and McKay were paying his campaign expenses, and I took him at his word, though I had no special reason to have any faith whatever in any statement he made. I spoke occasionally to Mr. Macartney afterward about it, and he said that he had called on Senator Burrows for payment, as per agreement, and that Burrows had asked him to let the matter run along awhile, finally asking him to sue me for personal reasons which would be gratifying to him (Burrows).

This narrative may seem tedious and trifling to some, but it is written in order to put myself right in the eyes of those who believe the untruthful statements which have been made by Julius Caesar Burrows and his satellites. Every effort which was in his power has been exerted to break me down in every possible way. My business has been inquired into by his direction and in various ways has been interfered with. I have reason to believe, and do believe, that certain special employment I had was discontinued through the machinations and influence of Senator Burrows. Yet, during all this time, I have been the recipient of scores of requests from mutual friends, made at his instance, to meet Mr. Burrows in order to bring about a reconciliation. I have steadily refused all these propositions, which have come not only from Michigan people, but from personal friends in the House of Representatives and several from lobbyist "Nat" McKay and his lawyer, John S. Blair, who for years has been my personal friend. These people have represented to me that it would be to my interest to "make up" and let bygones be bygones. To all these suggestions and requests I have uniformly responded, "I would not trust Julius Caesar Burrows under any circumstances, nor believe him under oath. He has broken faith with everybody with whom he has had political or personal dealings since I knew him, except where he is under great personal or pecuniary obligation to people who have helped him, like the Blodgetts, ex-Senator Palmer, the Pennsylvania R. R., lobbyist 'Nat' McKay and others." My very first acquaintance with him, beyond a sight acquaintance, commenced in 1870, while he was doing his best to disgrace that gallant Michigan hero, Gen. William L. Stoughton, and defeat his renomination for a second term, to which, under the well-established custom in the Republican party in Michigan, he was entitled. Elsewhere are submitted paragraphs taken from the files of the Kalamazoo *Telegraph* of the spring and summer of 1870, prior to the holding of the Congressional convention, where General Stoughton was triumphantly vindicated by a renomination. From that time to date I cannot recall a campaign in which Burrows has not bitterly and vindictively attacked not only his Democratic opponents, but those in the Republican party who were not friendly to his ambition. He assailed the honesty and integrity of Allen Potter, of Kalamazoo; he did the same with George L. Yaple, of St. Joe county, and so on through the whole long line of candidates against him, or Republicans who opposed his political ambition. I have already referred to his shameful treachery to Colonel Stockbridge, and I could name

scores of other instances if they were needed. But they are not. Throughout the State of Michigan, outside of the federal office-holding "push" and the personal Burrows contingent, the name of Julius Caesar Burrows stands as a synonym for duplicity, hypocrisy, demagoguery, treachery, and falsehood. This is not a mere figure of speech born of personal prejudice and passion, but the cold, frozen, sober truth. I have heard hundreds of leading Republicans throughout the State say as much; and yet they have not the courage to stand up openly and be counted as they have privately expressed themselves. Of course, most of these people are politicians, with possible political futures, but the great body of Republicans with whom Julius Caesar Burrows has come in contact throughout the State, especially those who have sought office at his hands, know this statement to be absolutely true. And this brings me to the finale of this branch of my narrative.

THE CHALLENGE.

[*From Grand Rapids Herald (R.), August 1, 1897.*]

RECORD OF BURROWS.

Secretary Rose Talks of the Senator's Work.

CONSISTENT ON THE TARIFF.

Best Possible Bill That Could Pass the Senate.

Republican Measure in Every Line—No Defence of Mr. Burrows Necessary in the Stand He Took—Mr. Rose Denies That He is Here to Boom Him for Re-election.

Seated at a roll-top desk upon the upper floor of the Widdicombe Building, coat and cuffs upon a chair near by, a palm-leaf fan in his left hand, and a pen in his right, sat Henry M. Rose, secretary

to Senator Burrows, as the *Herald* representative accosted him yesterday.

"Then these are the Burrows headquarters?" was the first salutation.

"Oh, all that talk about my returning to Grand Rapids to open headquarters and to boom Senator Burrows for re-election is merely newspaper gossip," said Mr. Rose. "I have simply returned to take up the routine correspondence just where I left it in Washington. I did the same last summer and the summer before. The morning mails you see upon the desk is but a fair sample of what this routine correspondence consists of."

When questioned about Mr. Burrows' career in the Senate, the loyal secretary said, with seeming modesty: "I think the Senator's record is well understood, and I do not possibly see how he could have secured a better recognition or accomplished more for his constituency. He took his seat in the Senate in January, 1895, when the Democratic party was in control of the body, and during the remainder of the session employed his time in familiarizing himself with the new surroundings, and learning the full import of the term 'senatorial courtesy,' which seems to require that a member shall not essay to speak upon any question during his initiatory session, and that when once permitted the floor he shall hold it as long as he chooses.

"When the Republicans secured control of the committee organizations of the Senate in January, 1896, Mr. Burrows was made chairman of the Committee on Revision of the Laws, which he now holds and which gives him one of the handsomest rooms in the Capitol, was made a member of the important committees on Privileges and Elections, Coast Defenses, and Banks and Banking. The people of the country do not seem to generally understand the Republicans do not have absolute control of the Senate. They have been permitted to select the majority members of the committees -- that is all. They are not in the majority. Hence it is the tariff bill meets some criticism from certain quarters. I am satisfied it is a Republican measure in every line and that it is the best possible bill that could be passed through the Senate as now constituted.

RECEIVED HIGH RECOGNITION.

"As is well known, when Senator Sherman resigned his seat in the body there was something of a strife among the Republican Senators to secure the coveted position he had vacated upon the Committee on Finance. The finance committee handles all tariff legislation as well as all measures pertaining to the currency. Senators Hanna, Thurston, and Platt, of New York, were anxious to succeed Mr. Sherman upon this committee. Senator Sewall, of New Jersey, who was a member of the 'steering committee' that reports the makeup of all committees to the Republican caucus, also desired the place. Mr. Burrows was given it by almost a unanimous vote, which speaks far more than any feeble words of mine can the estimates his colleagues in the Senate have for him. He had

served upon the Ways and Means Committee in the House of Representatives, and the question of fitness alone determined his selection. A second great honor came to him when he was chosen a member of the committee on conference upon the tariff bill. In fact, I can conceive of nothing Senator Burrows could have received during the extraordinary session of Congress that would have added anything to his credit or honor. The very highest recognition was accorded him.

"You ask about his labors upon the conference committee. Senator Burrows has always been known as a protectionist. His record upon tariff legislation has been consistent during all his long term of service. I am aware he is criticised some for advocating a two-dollar duty upon lumber and voting for a small duty upon hides. In taking this course he was consistent. The Republicans who criticise him are inconsistent. Eight and ten years ago the very men who clamor for a \$1 duty were advocating upon the stump and elsewhere a \$2 duty. They have, however, transferred their business interests to Canada since then. It had been proved that a \$1 duty was not sufficient to keep out the lumber of British America and Canada, just as it had been shown that a tariff of four or seven cents on wools of the first and second class would not keep out the wools of Asia and Australia.

HIS POSITION ON TARIFF BILL.

"Senator Burrows not only recognized the lumber industry as one worthy of adequate protection, but he labored incessantly to protect the interests of the American farmer. He fought for a just wool schedule and the protection given the cedar, dressed lumber, gypsum, iron, and other interests in his State. He worked just as strenuously for the interests of the Michigan cigar-makers, and I happen to know that it was through his personal efforts that a 15 cents concession was given upon imported wrappers, while it was his desire to secure a much more favorable rate for manufacturers. It is not necessary, however, for any one to make a defense of Senator Burrows' position upon the tariff bill. As I said, it is a Republican measure; it is a revenue-raising measure, and a protective measure. It may not be as perfect as it might have been had the Republican party been in control of both branches of Congress. In signing it the President has but carried out the wishes of the people who elected him; in voting for it the Republican members but carried out the pledges made by the party in its national platform. It seems to me no real good Republican will criticise either for the action.

"Senator Burrows has been at Atlantic City since the adjournment of Congress. He will leave there for a trip up the great lakes this week, and will remain at Mackinac Island during the greater part of the summer. I am sure he deserves and needs this rest, for I never knew a man in public life to devote more time or energy to his work than he. His hours were from 7 in the morning until midnight during his service upon the finance committee, and at the close of the session he clearly showed the effects of the great strain."

THE REPLY.

HARRY SMITH ON BURROWS

One Kalamazoo Man Discusses and Dissects Another.

The Ex-Journal Clerk Thinks He Sees a Public Duty Before Him.

And He Proceeds to Perform It With a Great Deal of Vigor.

To the Editor: I enclose you herewith a copy of a letter to Mr. Conger, Editor of the Grand Rapids *Herald*, in reply to an interview with Mr. Henry M. Rose, which I find in Mr. Conger's paper. The letter contains facts which have not heretofore been printed, and I offer it to you in the hope that you will lay it before the voters of the State of Michigan, to whom I feel it my duty to explain these matters. I am not sanguine that Mr. Conger will print it, because I understand he is a candidate for postmaster at Grand Rapids, while the principal owner of the *Herald* has aspirations for a German consulate or something equally as good. Being thus somewhat beholden to Mr. Burrows, at least in anticipation, I infer that they may not care to print the truth about him.

HENRY H. SMITH.

FRONT ROYAL, VA., Aug. 19, 1897.

MR. SMITH'S LETTER.

To the Editor of the Herald: I am just in receipt of a copy of your issue of the 1st instant, containing a carefully prepared "interview" with Henry M. Rose, who is described as "secretary to Senator Burrows," although he is officially known to the Senate as clerk to the Committee on Revision of the Laws.

Why did not Mr. Rose tell the readers of the *Herald* the important fact that since Julius Caesar Burrows was made chairman of the

important (?) Committee on Revision of the Laws, on December 30, 1895, not one single bill, petition, or resolution has been referred to the committee, that but one meeting has been held, and that meeting was a sort of social gathering in January, 1896, which convened at the request of Chairman Burrows mainly for the purpose of approving the highly commendable and proper selection of Mr. Rose as clerk of a committee which never has any business referred to it, and, consequently, never meets! Of course Mr. Rose was too loyal to his chairman—as well as to himself—to say that, but the truth should be told, “even though the heavens fall.”

In the summer of 1882 the Senate Committee on Rules met in recess for the purpose of revising the rules of the Senate, and unanimously agreed to recommend the abolition or “extinguishment” of the Committee on Revision of the Laws, as being useless and unnecessary. Before making its final report, however, as a matter of “Senatorial courtesy”—at the request of the Senator then chairman of that committee—said recommendation was omitted.

I have no means at present of “searching the record,” but I will bet Mr. Rose a barrel of cider or “winter pippins” that the Committee on the Revision of the Laws of the Senate has not reported five bills during the last fifteen years. So much for the “importance” of that committee.

Then Mr. Rose says his chairman is a “member of the important committees on Privileges and Elections, Claims, Coast Defences, and Banks and Banking.”

A REFERENCE TO MR. “GAS ADDICKS.”

Now, this is not only disingenuous—not to say grossly inaccurate—in Mr. Rose, but it is a clear case of *suppressio veri* with the usual accompaniment of *suggestio falsi*. I don’t want Mr. Rose to think, and trust he will not think, I am imitating Daniel O’Connell in a notable incident in a London fish market and slinging epithets or opprobrious language at him. But the fact must be told. The Committee on Privileges and Elections “in days gone by” was a committee of responsibility, honor, and dignity. For many years past it has followed the bad rule of the House committee, so aptly stated by Thad. Stevens, of “sticking by its own d—d rascal.” Its reports and recommendations have been so frequently reversed by the Senate of late that it is now “rated” as a second-class committee, though it has always had some strong men on it. The principal service that Mr. Rose’s chairman has rendered on that committee consists in championing the absurd claims of the notorious “Gas” Addicks of Delaware to a seat in the Senate—to which no honest man of average intelligence will say he was elected—and, by reversing his vote—first given in favor of Henry A. DuPont—denying that gentleman his seat on a petty technicality, and, as a result, seating a silver Democrat from that State.

The Committee on Post-offices and Post Roads is a good committee, but there is nothing on that committee for “Nat” McKay, and Mr. Burrows will soon disappear from it.

MR. BURROWS' FRIEND MR. MCKAY.

As to the Committee on Claims—to which Mr. Burrows was assigned at his own request—it is only necessary to say that the principal work performed by Mr. Rose's chairman on that committee consists in reporting sundry large claims—principally of contracts for “iron-clads” built during the late war—in which Mr. Nathaniel McKay, the leading Washington “promoter of legislation,” is largely interested. As Mr. McKay is known to have assisted in “promoting” the election of Mr. Rose's chairman to the Senate, and as he gave him a swell dinner on his arrival in Washington in January, 1895, as Senator-elect, it may be possible that this is akin to the incident of Sam Weller's upset of the coach of the opposing voters—a “mere coincidence.”

The Committee on Coast Defenses—like that of Revision of the Laws—is a mere ornamental committee, which exists solely to give a new Senator (McBride, of Oregon) a clerk and a committee room.

CUTS NO ICE.

As to the Committee on Banks and Banking referred to by Mr. Rose, it is only necessary to say there is no such committee. There is, however, a Committee on National Banks—another ornamental committee—created in the Fifty-third Congress, to give a new Democratic Senator a clerk and committee room. It is a select or temporary committee, however, and its chairman is Senator Mantle, of Montana—silver Republican—who, with the two Democratic members, makes the committee “agin the banks.” Fortunately for the interests of the national banks, the committee never meets.

HOW MR. BURROWS GOT THERE.

Mr. Rose speaks with exceeding joy of the fact that his chairman is a member of the important committee on finance, but again he is disingenuous, and, I regret to say, is again guilty of *suppressio veri* combined with *suggestio falsi*. There was a strife for the vacaney caused by the resignation of Senator Sherman, and the names of two Western Senators—Hanna and Thurston—were first mentioned for the place. The real candidates, however, were Senators Platt, of New York; Sewell, of New Jersey, and Mr. Rose's chairman. The vacancy properly belonged to the West, as the chairman (Morrill, of Vermont), Aldrich, of Rhode Island, and Platt, of Connecticut, were from the East, and the retiring Senator (Sherman) was a Western man. Senator Platt, of New York, claimed the place by reason of his previous service in the Senate and because he was the sole Republican Senator from the Empire State.

A CASE OF JONES.

The Western Republican Senators had the “bulge” on their Eastern brethren in this matter, for they had Jones, of Nevada, behind them, without whose vote they could not “turn a wheel” in the finance committee. Senator Jones' demands were few, but they

were imperative, and at the very front was his demand on behalf of the Northwestern (silver) States for a duty of 20 per cent. on hides. What mattered it to him that free hides was an established Republican principle or doctrine? What mattered it that no duty had ever been imposed on hides until 1842, when a duty of 5 per cent. was imposed for revenue; that it was reduced to 4 per cent. by the Walker tariff of 1846; that it was restored to 5 per cent. by the act of 1857; that it was increased by the Morrill "War Tariff" act of August, 1861, to only 10 per cent.; that it was repealed by the act of 1872, when revenue was no longer needed, and that no duty was ever proposed in either house of Congress pending the acts of 1883, 1890, and 1894? His constituents in Nevada—a grand total of 10,323 at the last election in that State—the great "cattle barons" of Texas and the millionaire "packers" of Chicago, Kansas City, and elsewhere, wanted this duty, and it was a part of his "ultimatum."

Senator Julius Caesar Burrows, when a member of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives in the Fifty-first Congress, voted against a proposed duty. He had heard Major McKinley, in the Ways and Means Committee room, read to the Republican members the following letter from Secretary Blaine on this subject:

THE VOICE OF BLAINE ON HIDES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 10, 1890.

DEAR MR. MCKINLEY: It is a great mistake to take hides from the free list, where they have been for so many years. It is a slap in the face to the South Americans with whom we are trying to enlarge our trade. It will benefit the farmer by adding 5 to 8 per cent. to the price of his children's shoes. It will yield a profit to the butcher only—the last man that needs it. The movement is injudicious from beginning to end—in every form and phase. Pray stop it before it sees light. Such movements as this for protection will protect the Republican party into a speedy retirement.

Yours hastily,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

WAS BURROWS A TRAITOR?

Senator Burrows well knew that the sentiment of the Republican voters of Michigan was overwhelmingly against a duty on hides. He knew that the great tanning, shoe, and leather industries of Michigan had been adjusted to the stable Republican policy of free hides, and that any duty whatever was a serious blow to them. He knew that no farmer in Michigan or elsewhere raised cattle for their hides; that beef was the sole consideration; that the supply was regulated wholly by the demand for beef, and that a duty on hides would not increase or decrease the domestic product by one single hide, and that no farmer would be benefited a nickel by a duty, while, on the contrary, it would destroy our growing export trade

and increase the prices of shoes to the farmer's family "from 5 to 8 per cent." He knew all this, for he had said so in a speech; but beyond that he knew it from able and experienced men, such as "Uncle Jim" Monroe of Kalamazoo, and Judge Marsden Burch of Grand Rapids, who made special trips to Washington to urge him to rightly represent the great and important interests of Michigan in respect to this matter by voting against the proposed or any duty on hides.

These gentlemen were his principal "managers" in his contest for the Senatorship; they were in close touch with the Republican voters of Michigan, and they told him that he would make the mistake of his political career if he voted for any duty on hides.

THIS IS A SERIOUS CHARGE.

Why did he not listen to them and the scores of petitions and protests he had received from his constituents? The answer is easy and short. Senator Julius Caesar Burrows promised not only to support the proposed duty on hides which Senator John P. Jones of Nevada demanded, but made other pledges to vote against the interests of Michigan in order to get on the finance committee, and the thing was settled.

When Mr. Rose says that Senator Burrows was assigned to the finance committee "by almost a unanimous vote," he states what is grossly incorrect, and when he says that "the question of fitness alone determined his selection," he states what is not true.

The bill, with several hundred amendments, was already reported to the Senate when Mr. Burrows was appointed a member of the finance committee, and while, as a matter of course, the "compromises" between the two houses were yet to be made, the men who made them were Senators Allison, Aldrich, and Jones, of Nevada. Nothing is better known than that. Julius Caesar Burrows was a mere fly on the steer's horn, and, save when he violated all parliamentary law and propriety and voted—as a conferee—against the instructions of the Senate on the two-dollar lumber vote, he was as unimportant and inconsequential—save that he had a vote—as the messenger of the committee.

SENATOR McMILLAN RESPONSIBLE FOR BURROWS' APPOINTMENT ON THE FINANCE COMMITTEE.

But with the support of Jones, of Nevada, and the "odds and ends" he could pick up for the place, he would have ignominiously failed to reach the prize had Senator McMillan not been chairman of the "Committee on Committees," sometimes designated as the caucus or "steering committee." Senator McMillan stands high in the Senate and has the confidence of that body. He has rendered Michigan valuable and important service—more, perhaps, in one session than Julius Caesar Burrows has rendered during his entire three years in the Senate—and it was possible for him, after having tactfully arranged committee places for other Senators, to ask a

favor—not for himself—but for the State of Michigan. Looking to its important and varied tariff interests, what more natural than that Senator McMillan, then voluntarily out of the race for a third term, should desire to place his colleague where he could be of “some service to the State.” It never entered his mind for a second that Mr. Burrows could be so false and recreant to the interests of Michigan as to vote for a duty on hides in spite of the overwhelming sentiment of the great tanning and leather interests of Michigan represented here by his trusted lieutenants “Uncle Jim” Monroe and Judge Burch. Is it possible that he would have made that assignment had he supposed for a second that his colleague would have been false to the interests of nine-tenths of the people of Michigan on the lumber schedule? An honest man himself, he never thought a Senator could be guilty of such perfidy and treachery, leaving out the theory of corrupt motives, and he fully believed he could control the junior Senator on these questions. Indeed, it is more than probable that he believed that self-interest alone and the advice of “Uncle Jim” Monroe would keep his colleague right. He did not know Julius Cæser Burrows then, but he knows him now, and I shall be surprised if, in the face and teeth of the exposure of the career and character of that colossal demagogue and hypocrite and political and personal “rotten-egg” individual, yoked to lobbyist “Nat” McKay with hooks of steal, he will, when the time comes, give his influence and support to the re-election of Julius Cæsar Burrows, whose character and standing in the Senate before January 1, 1898, will be a disgrace to the State of Michigan and a reproach to the Senate and nation.

A BURROWS INCIDENT.

The Constitution of the United States (article 1, section 7, clause 1) provides that “all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives.”

Prior to his election to the Senate, Senator Burrows had served, at intervals, 16 years in the House of Representatives, and eight years on the Committee on Ways and Means. During that service he had voted on a proposition denying to the Senate the right to originate either a revenue or general appropriation bill.

Yet on the 27th day of December, 1895, in the first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress, with that majestic dignity which is his distinguishing characteristic, he rose in the Senate, secured the attention of the Chair and attempted to introduce a revenue (tariff) bill.

In order to do Mr. Rose’s chairman even and exact justice, I quote from the Record the entire “incident.”

“MR. BURROWS. I introduce a bill, and, if I may be indulged a word in explanation, it will avoid the necessity of reading the bill in *extenso*. By the tariff act of 1893 a large number of articles were placed on the free list hitherto dutiable. By the measure which has just passed the House of Representatives (H. R. 2749, to temporarily increase revenue and meet the expenses of the Government

and provide against a deficiency) the rate of taxation of the dutiable list, as it now exists, has been increased, but the articles made free by the Wilson act, with the exception of wool and lumber, remain on the free list. The bill I propose is to restore to the dutiable list the articles taxable under the law of 1890, imposing upon them a rate of duty in harmony with the bill just passed by the House of Representatives.

"Mr. SHERMAN. I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Michigan to the fact that this body has no right to originate a bill imposing duties on imported goods, or in any measure a revenue bill; therefore, the bill should be offered in the nature of an amendment to the House bill."

HERE'S THE NUT OF IT.

"Mr. BURROWS. I intended to offer the bill that it might be referred to the Committee on Finance and considered by that committee, with the hope that it would be engrafted as an amendment of the revenue bill. **Of course I was aware of the fact that revenue measures cannot originate in the Senate.**

"Mr. SHERMAN. It is contrary to the Constitution for the Senate to attempt such legislation, except in the way of an amendment to the House bill. I think it had better be introduced as an amendment.

"Mr. BURROWS. I will offer it as an amendment.

"The VICE-PRESIDENT. The proposed amendment will be referred to the Committee on Finance."

I happened to be in the Senate gallery at the time, and observed the confusion of Senator Burrows on account of the quite general laughter on both sides of the chamber which followed the friendly advice given him by Senator Sherman. I heard the entire affair, and the words in **full-face type** were not spoken by Senator Burrows on the floor, but were inserted by him as an afterthought to cover up his ignorance.

SMITH HAD A CHANCE TO KNOW.

It will be observed that he repeatedly refers to the bill he had "introduced," and that in the very paragraph in which he interpolated the full-face-type words he says: "I intended to offer the bill," etc., and yet this "afterthought" does not agree or "consist" with his "forethought." And yet Mr. Rose would deceive the *Herald* readers by making them believe that Mr. Burrows was appointed on the finance committee by reason of his long service on the Ways and Means Committee of the House and his pre-eminent fitness for the place. That service as stated had absolutely nothing to do with his selection on the finance committee.

During nearly all of Mr. Burrows' service in the House I had, as journal clerk of the House, the very best opportunity to know his status and about his work, and I have no hesitation in saying that, beyond a sophomoric speech full of "glittering generalities," he had but little to say about the details of the McKinley bill, and when

the proper time arrives I will show that he was so badly "worsted" in a five-minute debate that his only escape from utter humiliation was to change his remarks in the *Record*.

THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE.

Finally, as to the appointment of Mr. Rose's chairman as a member of the committee on conference on the tariff bill. There is no rule of either house of Congress fixing the number of conferrees on a bill or subject in dispute between the two houses. Until the tariff act of 1883, a conference committee was composed of three members of each body, two of the majority and the third of the minority party. It was then increased to five members and on the McKinley bill to seven, the same number on the Wilson-Gorman act of 1894. As the House accepted *verb. et lit.* the Senate amendments to that bill, the Republican conferrees had nothing to do.

When the Dingley bill passed the Senate, a conference with the House was moved by Senator Allison, and the number of conferrees of each house fixed at eight. This had all been arranged beforehand with Speaker Reed and Chairman Dingley and was done to "compose"—so to speak—an embarrassing situation in each house, or rather in the two committees of ways and means and finance. With a committee of seven, the House Republican conferrees would be—following their order of rank on the committee—Messrs. Dingley, of Maine, Payne, of New York, Dalzell, of Pennsylvania, and Hopkins, of Illinois.

ON GROSVENOR'S ACCOUNT.

General Grosvenor, of Ohio, was extremely anxious to be a conferree in order to look after the wool interests of Ohio, and Senator Hanna was extremely anxious that he should be. Speaker Reed refused to advance Grosvenor over Hopkins, and as there was a general feeling on the part of the Republican managers that there were too many Eastern members on the conference, the proposition of an increase was readily agreed to by Senator Jones, of Nevada, who desired the assistance of Senator Burrows in retaining the Senate amendment fixing a duty of 20 per cent. on hides as well as in respect to certain other Senate amendments. But for this condition of affairs Senator Burrows would not have been a member of the conference committee, while it is worthy of note that he was not appointed a member of the finance committee until after the Dingley bill had been reported to the Senate.

EXPENSIVE FOR MICHIGAN.

The House conferrees fought valiantly against a duty on hides, and a majority of the Senate conferrees as valiantly for it. As a compromise, it was fixed at 15 per cent., with a drawback on all leather exported made from imported hides. As a result—it was stated by Senator Aldrich—this would bring in a revenue of \$700,000, and that fully one-half that sum, if not over \$400,000,

would be paid out under the drawback provision. This would leave a net revenue of \$300,000, at a cost to the tanning, shoe, and leather industries of Michigan alone of more than twice that sum.

BURROWS AND THE LOOKING-GLASS.

Mr. Rose is discreetly silent as to the part his chairman played in respect to the rates of duty on looking-glass plate. Perhaps the furniture manufacturers of Grand Rapids will be interested in knowing that in spite of the almost frantic appeals of Senator Burrows to his Republican associates on the conference committee, and his frenzied declaration that his political salvation depended on getting the glass schedule fixed as he desired, his associates were deaf, dumb, and probably blind, as well as indifferent, to his "political salvation," and the best he could get was a reduction of rates that will not help the entire furniture interests of Grand Rapids \$1,000 a year.

AH! HOW ABOUT LUMBER?

Mr. Rose refers to the appointment of his chairman on the conference committee as a "second great honor," and joyfully remarks that he "can conceive of nothing Senator Burrows could have received during the extraordinary session of Congress that would have added anything to his credit or honor." Mr. Rose is discreetly silent in respect to the conduct of his chairman as a member of the conference committee in respect to lumber. By a yea and nay vote on July 1, the Senate fixed the rate at \$1 per thousand on white pine, and under the unbroken practice in both houses of Congress, he was in honor bound to adhere to that expression of the Senate in respect to that rate.

There is no occasion for me to discuss the propriety of the vote of Mr. Burrows in the Senate for a \$2 rate. He so voted, and was defeated by the Senate, and when the subject of selecting the number as well as names of conferrees on the part of the Senate was under consideration, the veteran chairman of the finance committee (Senator Morrill of Vermont) discussed this identical question with Senators Allison, Aldrich, and Platt, of Connecticut, the other Republican members of the finance committee. Senator Morrill was in favor of the rate which was fixed by the McKinley law of 1890 at \$1 per thousand, for which Mr. Burrows then voted, and he also voted in the Committee of Ways and Means against an amendment fixing the rate at \$2 per thousand.

TURNED DOWN HIS CHAIRMAN.

Senator Morrill insisted that the vote of the Senate on this subject should absolutely control the conferrees, under the long established practice of the Senate. He was assured that such would be the action of the Senate conferrees, and yet it is authoritatively stated that from the moment the Republican conferrees met to consider the differences between the two houses of Congress, Senator Burrows

commenced his labors to defeat the expressed will and order of the Senate in regard to this duty. All the usages and proprieties in the matter were thrown to the winds by Senator Burrows, who fought desperately for the \$2 rate. His course at the time was severely criticised by his Republican colleagues on the committee, as well as other members of the Senate, and he was called sharply to account for it on the floor of the Senate, but he remained mute. What has Mr. Rose or his chairman to say in defense of that action, which, I venture to say, is without precedent? Senator Burrows took advantage of the grave situation of affairs, when it was barely possible to obtain and hold a quorum of Republican Senators, to force his Republican colleagues on the conference committee to recede from that amendment and yield to the House conferees. I challenge him or any other man to point to a single precedent where the yea and nay vote of the Senate on an important question was overridden and defied in this way.

WHY MR. SMITH WRITES.

This letter has been written hastily and under the great disadvantage of being a hundred miles from Washington, without access to important details. Regarding it as a duty to point out the gross misstatements made by Mr. Rose in respect to the record and status of his chairman in the Senate of the United States, I have written the foregoing, and submit it for the information not only of the readers of the *Herald*, but of the Republican voters of Michigan who have a right to call Senator Burrows to account for his conduct and votes in the Senate.

HENRY H. SMITH.

FRONT ROYAL, VA., Aug. 19, 1897.

The Editor of the Grand Rapids *Herald*, Mr. E. D. Conger, acknowledged the receipt of my letter, as follows:

GRAND RAPIDS HERALD,
GRAND RAPIDS, MICH., Aug. 21, '97.

Mr. HENRY H. SMITH,
40-41 Kellogg Bldg., Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 19th inst. enclosing communication for publication was received this morning.

I have carefully read your article and concluded that for the present, at least, we do not care to publish same in the *Herald*. With your permission, however, I will retain your manuscript, as it is not impossible that at some future time we will want to avail ourselves of the information and statements contained therein.

Yours very truly,

E. D. CONGER,
Manager.

[*Detroit News Editorial.*]

(Tuesday, Aug. 24, 1897.)

HARRY SMITH'S ANALYSIS OF SENATOR BURROWS.

Mr. Henry M. Rose's recent labored defense of the record of Senator Julius C. Burrows, whose private secretary he is, has called out a most interesting letter from the pen of Mr. Henry H. Smith, former journal clerk of the House, than whom few men are more conversant with either the ways of the Kalamazoo statesman or the methods by which legislative affairs are conducted at Washington. Having known and observed Johnny Blodgett's Senator for many years, Mr. Smith naturally falls short of the admiration which Mr. Rose feels for the man whose influence keeps him in touch with a comfortable salary, and he cruelly exposes the fallacies contained in the secretary's eulogistic interview.

First off, he reveals with unpitying fidelity the meaningless character of several of the honors and dignities with which the faithful secretary has sought to create an atmosphere of greatness for his Senator. He points out that two of the Senator's "important" committees, including that on "Revision of Laws," of which he is chairman, are purely ornamental and without influence in legislation. Next he proceeds to call attention to the fact that Mr. Burrows' most notable action as a member of the discredited Committee on Privileges and Elections has been his championship of the notorious "Gas" Addicks, of Delaware, whose effrontery in aspiring to a seat in the Senate to which he was not elected shocked decent men of all parties throughout the country. It is also notable that this championship finally resulted in the seating of a silver Democrat in place of Mr. Dupont, who was the other Republican claimant.

With regard to the Senator's membership in the Committee on Claims, Mr. Smith appeals to the record to show that its greatest activity has been in promoting claims in which Nathaniel McKay, a prominent lobbyist who banqueted Mr. Burrows when he returned to Washington as a Senator, is interested.

At this point the merciless presenter of facts leaves the lesser for the greater and comes down to the Burrows record in the recent tariff contest, and the showing is one under which the junior Senator must wince. In reply to Mr. Rose's statement that "the question of fitness alone determined his (Senator Burrows') selection" as a member of the Committee on Finance, Mr. Smith charges circumstantially and with corroborative testimony that the appointment was secured at the price of a promise to support Senator John P. Jones' indefensible duty on hides and of other pledges inimical to the best interests of Michigan. Mr. Smith's exposition of the facts concerning the hide duty is caustic, and his argument relating to the manner in which Senator Burrows became a member of the committee convincing. These charges he supplements with a showing that, with all his boasted influence, the Senator was unable to do anything considerable for the furniture interests of the State in the

matter of looking-glass plate, and then he comes down to the lumber schedule, in the contest over which Senator Burrows violated every precedent of the Senate in order to pay his debts to political friends who demanded the \$2 rate on white pine. Mr. Smith challenges the Senator or his friends to find another instance in which a member of a conference committee betrayed the confidence of the Senate by going against its policy declared in a yea and nay vote.

Taken all in all, the document Mr. Smith has produced is likely to keep the Senator, the Senator's secretary, and the Senator's remaining friends feverishly busy during the months that remain before the question of selecting his successor is decided.

The letter of Hon. Arthur Hill is so appropriate as a clincher to my statement of the trickery, treachery, and dishonesty of Julius Caesar Burrows that I insert it here with the remark that he has not yet told all he knows about the "Columbian Orator." It will be interesting when the fact develops—as it will—that the other "conferee" who sold out his State, party, and character, is also one of lobbyist "Nat" McKay's regular "guests," and that "Nat" very properly acted as driver on the occasion referred to.

Who'll be the next victim?

SAYS BURROWS IS A BETRAYER.

LUMBERMAN HILL AFTER THE JUNIOR SENATOR.

OPEN LETTER ABOUNDING IN PERTINENT QUESTIONS.

HIS INTIMACY WITH NAT MCKAY BROUGHT OUT.

BURROWS'S VOTE FOR MISSISSIPPI AGAINST MICHIGAN.

SAGINAW, MICH., Dec. 14.—Hon. Arthur Hill, Saginaw's wealthy and prominent lumberman, has addressed the following open letter to Senator J. C. Burrows:

Hon. J. C. Burrows, United States Senate, Washington, D. C., Sir: Four years ago you were elected to represent the State of Michigan and its people in the United States Senate. On July 24, 1897, pending the final passage of the Dingley tariff bill, you addressed the Senate in advocacy of a \$2 duty on white pine lumber, and you said:

"I am aware of the fact that the people of my own State are somewhat divided upon this question, and if I was a protectionist for Michigan only, the question would be a very difficult and embarrassing one for me to solve.

"In considering this question I look beyond the State of Michigan to discover, if possible, the magnitude and needs of this great industry."

You then went forward and presented this telegram:

"HATTIESBURG, Miss., July 6, 1897.—We implore you and other friendly senators to prevent reduction of \$1 duty on white pine lumber. Discrepancy in freight rates in favor of Canada over the south has already destroyed yellow pine industry. Without \$2 protection we cannot expect to survive.

"B. J. NEWMAN LUMBER CO."

But, Senator, when you thus looked "beyond" the State of Michigan to Mississippi, why did you not state to your colleagues that Mr. Blodgett, of Grand Rapids, Mich., was the owner of an immense tract of yellow pine timber, equal to half a county, in the immediate vicinity of Hattiesburg, Miss., and that as to this telegram, as you well knew, the hand was Newman's but the voice was Blodgett's?

Your only mention of Mr. Blodgett's name is where you defend him against the charge made in the debate, that he was "the man who manipulates the election of Senators from Michigan."

And while you were looking "beyond" the State of Michigan, to Grand Rapids via Mississippi, for reasons for advocating the \$2 lumber duty, you knew, as you stated, that the people of your own State "were somewhat divided on the question."

GUBERNATORIAL OPPOSITION.

You knew that opposed to the doubling of the McKinley duty of \$1 per 1,000 on pine lumber was our entire line of living Republican Governors—Hazen S. Pingree, John T. Rich, Cyrus G. Luce, and Russell A. Alger.

They believed that a \$1 duty was all the people ought to pay, and also that to increase the rate would seriously disturb the woodworking industries of Michigan.

You knew, too, that it was opposed as unwise and unfair by Hon. Dexter M. Ferry, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, and by such true Republicans and broadminded business men connected with the lumber industry as D. Whitney, Jr., of Detroit, Ezra Rust, of Saginaw, and Ammi W. Wright, of Alma, and by Dr. David Ward, of Detroit, who owns more standing pine in Michigan than any other five men in the State.

You had heard read, too, the protest signed by 26 of our leading mill and lumbering firms, setting forth that if a \$2 duty were placed on white pine lumber, Canada would so legislate as to prevent them from getting their Canadian cut logs to their Michigan mills (and this legislation has since been enacted and is now in force); and you

still looked "beyond" Michigan and settled the question in favor of Mississippi.

I understand and regret the relations which made the problem an embarrassing one for you to solve in favor of your own State, but this I can plainly say: that no member of the Senate had so little right to vote the duty on white pine lumber from \$1 to \$2 per 1,000, with its inevitable consequences, as yourself.

You were familiar with the position of Michigan on the lumber tariff question, for it was before you as a member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House continually for consideration.

Our State was for years the leading producer of white pine lumber and defended the \$2 duty down to the time of the passage of the McKinley bill in 1890, when a change in circumstances led to a change of policy. The Michigan pineries were becoming exhausted. Our mills were beginning to draw on Canada for logs. The American import duty on lumber was \$2 per thousand and the Canadian export duty on logs was also \$2.

BURROWS'S NIGHT VISITS.

The House and Senate finally agreed on a lumber schedule providing in effect that if Canada would abolish the export duty on logs the duty on lumber would be reduced to \$1 per thousand and, as you will recall, sir, the very clause which covered this provision for \$1 duty on lumber and free logs was framed, or at least presented, by yourself, who, at the time, represented the interests of the people of the State of Michigan.

Seven years later, when our lumbermen, under this arrangement, have invested millions of dollars in Canadian pineries, and with the merest remnant of our own white pine left, you vote back the \$2 duty and cut off the log supply, and shut down the mills and factories, and bring serious loss, and in some cases ruin, to men who put money into Canadian timber to keep alive their business in Michigan.

Why did you represent Michigan in 1890 and Mississippi in 1897?

And with this question answered, there is yet another which, as one of your constituency, I have the right to ask. It relates to the means you took to get the lumber duty fixed at \$2, after that rate had been voted down in the Senate.

WAS THIS DONE BY BRIBERY?

The Finance Committee, of which you were a member, reported to the Senate a \$2 lumber duty. The Senate later voted down the duty from \$2 to \$1 per thousand over your head, and it was thus sent to the Conference Committee. As a member of the Finance Committee you became one of the Joint Conference Committee, and from the hour you were appointed to uphold the \$1 rate in the Conference Committee you used every art and artifice in outrage both of precedent and common political decency to have the duty fixed at \$2.

You made night visits to the quarters of the Blodgett committee to plan and to conspire, and you did more, and I fear worse.

You drove to the hotel of a member of the Conference Committee who from the first had been in favor of the \$1 duty. After the vote of the Senate fixing that rate, I heard him congratulate a gentleman engaged in the fight and say to him, "One dollar is enough and they ought not to ask for more."

"NAT" MCKAY IN THE LUMBER JOB.

You drove off with this member of the Conference Committee in the dusk of the evening, and the driver was Nat McKay, the notorious lobbyist. The return was far in the night. Next morning a member of Congress from the gentleman's own State called on him with telegrams from his people protesting against anything higher than the \$1 duty, the newspapers having reported that a rate of \$1.50 was possible. Imagine that Congressman's surprise at being told by your companion of the night before that he had changed his mind and now believed that a \$2 rate on lumber was a fair one.

PERTINENT QUESTION.

Now, Senator Burrows, whose was the argument, yours or Mr. Nat McKay's, and what was the argument, that brought about, as in the twinkling of an eye, this conversion? It seems as miraculous and surely as sudden as that of Saul, but I fear the light that shone on the gentleman was not from heaven.

A few words personal about myself, for this is a personal letter, yet thinking it may a little concern the public I give it to the public, too.

I never asked, directly or indirectly, for the legislation of 1890, but, resting on it, I made on both sides of the boundary considerable investments. By the passage of the Dingley bill the investment on this side was ruined, and it is now closed out. My loss is made and my loss is paid, and for myself I care not whether the lumber duty be \$1 or \$2.

MICHIGAN'S HONOR AT STAKE.

But I do care mightily whether the honor of the State is in safe hands at Washington: whether her vote is trafficked and sold: whether her Senator is the friend and consort of a lobbyist, whom he brings to Michigan to aid by midnight McKay methods in his re-election.

And I do care to see elected to the Senate some man as clean as he is capable, who will be no man's man but will belong to the whole people and serve the whole people.

And here are some questions for the people themselves to answer:

Is there a man, as charged in the debate, who "manipulates the election of Senators from Michigan"?

Can he succeed in sending back to Washington from Michigan the Senator who represents there the manipulator and Mississippi?

With a profound trust in the people and the people's representatives, who know their rights and who know their wrongs, I await the answer to be given at Lansing to these questions.

ARTHUR HILL.

SAGINAW, MICH., Dec. 13, 1898.

Nothing could be more appropriate than to quote here the following extract from the *Northwestern Lumberman* of February 28, 1897. That paper was quoted by Senator Burrows with high approval during the debate on the lumber schedule, and when this damning paragraph was read by Senator Pettigrew on the floor of the Senate this servile tool of the lumber "barons"—Julius Caesar Burrows—flinched and retired to the cloak-room to recover his composure. The extract is as follows:

"Now, you take our average cut of the United States, and \$1 a thousand advance means what? It means \$35,000,000 to the lumberman of the United States in a year. So, if we carry out this idea, \$1 duty does not take it to that. Lumber in Canada would come down a whole dollar, and it would not help us any. Get it up to about \$2 and then it would begin to have its effect. To illustrate a little further: There was a lot of gentlemen from the Northwest, up Minnesota way, in Washington the other day, and they were sitting in Senator Burrows' committee room. An interesting incident occurred there. Senator Burrows is chairman of the committee. The committee had not had a meeting for a long time. We happened to be sitting in that room, and one of the gentlemen from Minnesota had an envelope and a lead pencil. He walked around the room and he ciphered out a little bit, and he said: 'Mr. Burrows, do you know what \$1 a thousand would mean to this little crowd of men here?' There were not as many in the room as there are here. He said the advance of \$1 a thousand on lumber meant \$6,125,000 on last year's product."

[From the *Detroit News*, Sept. 22, 1898.]

"NAT" M'KAY'S "DEAR FRIEND."

HOW THE CAPITAL BELSHAZZAR TREATS BURROWS.

Magnificence of the Senatorial "Spider Web."

A FEAST THAT ONE MICHIGANDER WON'T FORGET.

COLD NERVE PARADING LOBBYIST IN MICHIGAN.

The intimacy between the most noted lobbyist in Washington, "Nat" McKay, and Michigan's Julius Caesar Burrows has been the

subject of much corridor gossip during the past three days. An influential member of the G. O. P. who has often visited Washington and knows of the close relations existing between Burrows and McKay, tells a good story.

"Yes, Burrows is McKay's side partner, sure enough, in sociality at least," said the story-teller. "A friend of mine, who came down to Washington while I was there, was lugged off by the Senator one evening to McKay's 'senatorial spider web,' and he had a bang-up time, as he told me afterward.

"When my friend was approached by Burrows with an invitation to go up to McKay's, he demurred, saying he was not prepared; that he did not know McKay, and would not feel at ease under the circumstances.

"'Oh, fudge,' that was no reason in the Senator's estimation. Mr. McKay was his dear friend, and 'my friends are just as welcome as I am at Mr. McKay's table. Come along; you'll have a good time and meet several noted and influential members of the House and Senate. Informal, I assure you; everything goes.'

"My friend went, and he had a good time. Burrows was apparently as free in McKay's house as was the host himself. There was a magnificence about the place and its appointments that took the breath away from the visitor. Such a lavish display of hospitality my friend had never seen before. There were 'cold bottles' and 'warm bottles' and various other kinds of bottles. There was terrapin in tubs and all the delicacies that the market of Washington or Baltimore or any other city could afford. It was a feast for the gods, and Belshazzar McKay seemed to rely upon his friend Burrows to lead in the entertainment of the guests. It was a sight to make the man from Michigan wonder where he was at, and at the same time threw a calcium light upon the methods by which lobbyists push claims through Congress for hundreds of thousands of dollars, although these same claims have been denounced and vetoed in years past. The service at the feast was attractive. 'The prettiest creoles I have ever laid eyes on waited on us,' said my friend, 'and they were not the least of the charming features of McKay's palatial quarters.' For days the remembrance of his evening with Burrows and his friends lingered with the visitor from Michigan, and he occasionally in quiet company refers to it as one of the surprises of his life.

"That 'Damon' Burrows should have the nerve to parade his 'Pythias' McKay through his own State is the acme of assurance. He might have known that it would be the means of bringing his relations with the notorious claim agent to the attention of his constituents. It was a brazen, foolish move, which he may have reason to regret."

The "influential member of the G. O. P" is the editor of a leading daily Republican paper published many miles from Detroit and the person taken to one of McKay's "banquets" is another prominent Republican, who declined a nomination to the legislature in a

sure district, but the member-elect is *now* a sure anti-Burrows member though his convention endorsed the "Orator." All on account of Burrows' intimacy with "Nat" McKay. Here is a dispatch from Mr. Miller the reliable Washington correspondent of the *News*, under date of September 22, the day after the State convention :

NOT NEWS IN WASHINGTON.

BURROWS' CLOSENESS TO THE "KING OF THE LOBBYISTS."

THE SENATOR'S ACTION TOWARD THE WHISKY TRUST.

His Intimacy With the Big Sugar Brokers.

PECULIAR FRIENDSHIPS OF THE SENATORIAL CANDIDATE.

(*From a Staff Correspondent.*)

WASHINGTON, Sept. 22.—"I see that the people in Michigan are just learning of Senator Burrows' intimate relations with 'Nat' McKay, king of the lobby," remarked one of the oldest and most reputable newspaper men in the capital. "That is stale news in Washington. There are other things about Burrows you should ask him to explain to the people of Michigan. I remember I used to entertain a high opinion of Burrows. When he introduced a resolution to investigate the whisky trust, I accordingly interviewed him for my paper, the *Philadelphia Press*. I printed a column and a half of what he gave me, in the shape of excellent reasons for the good of the morals of the country, why his resolution should go into execution. I handled the matter with a warm feeling of admiration for Mr. Burrows' rectitude and courage in protecting the American people.

"But my ideal statesman from Michigan was smashed when Burrows abandoned the resolution. I have heard that whisky stock fluctuated six points on the effect of the resolution, but of course not being a speculator myself I have no means of knowing whether Burrows speculated on the fall and rise of whisky stock, although he must have known what effect his resolution would have upon it. But my respect for Burrows has never been restored."

Another reporter who has made a specialty of writing financial

news for many years here, and stands high for accuracy and honesty, said: "I know Corson & McCartney, the big brokers, who handled sugar and other stocks during the sugar investigation, and while various tariff bills were pending. Indeed, I knew them very well, for I was employed by them to furnish financial news for about 12 years. Their office was my headquarters. I know Senator Burrows very well. He was a frequent caller at Corson & McCartney's office. What was he there for? Well, he wasn't there for his health, I reckon. If he was, I could have told him that it was not a healthy place for a representative of the people. If people of your State want to know about Senator Burrows before they agree to return him, why don't you ask him to explain why he hung around Corson & McCartney's? Why don't you have him explain his whisky trust resolution? If he did not speculate, it will be easy for him to clear up the fog."

MILLER.

Julius Cæsar Burrows Causes His Clerk, then Washington Correspondent Detroit Tribune, to Attack and Malign Editor Dingley of the Kalamazoo Telegraph in January, 1894.

BURROWS LIES ALL THE WAY THROUGH.

On the 21st day of January, 1894, the *Detroit Tribune* published the article given below, signed by its then Washington correspondent, Smith D. Fry. This publication was made during the second session of the 53d Congress, when Julius Cæsar Burrows was a candidate for nomination to the following, 54th Congress. Mr. Fry is now, and for many years has been, one of the leading Washington correspondents. He conducts a large newspaper syndicate composed almost wholly of Western Republican papers, and is also the correspondent of the *Philadelphia Times* (Independent). He is a Michigan man, at least by education, though I do not recall his exact residence in the State. At the commencement of the 53d Congress, Mr. Fry made an arrangement with Representative Julius Cæsar Burrows to take the \$100 allowed each member monthly for clerk hire and in consideration thereof furnish a commodious room for him in the rear of Mr. Fry's newspaper office, which was then located at 1407 F st., almost directly opposite my own office. I was then Assistant Register of the Treasury, and was in the habit of dropping in the offices of Messrs. Burrows and Fry during the day,

usually in the forenoon at Mr. Burrows' request, and in the evening to give Mr. Fry whatever news items I might have. About a week or ten days prior to this publication, I spent part of Sunday afternoon and evening at Senator Stockbridge's. As had been their custom for several years, Representative and Mrs. Burrows had dined with the Senator and Mrs. Stockbridge. We were in the library smoking, that is to say, the Senator, the Representative, Mr. Schuyler S. Olds—Senator Stockbridge's secretary—and myself, and the ladies were in the parlor below. Suddenly Mr. Burrows "broke loose" in the most violent manner against Mr. Edward N. Dingley, editor of the Kalamazoo *Telegraph*, denouncing him in the most violent and bitter terms. He charged Mr. Dingley with being unfriendly and treacherous to him and of seeking to supplant him in Congress. He said that Mr. Dingley was unwilling to print his speeches or make anything more than bare mention of him and the things he did for his district in Washington except for pay. He said that he had recently made a tariff speech which had cost him a great deal of labor and time to collect and prepare, and which was being copied generally in Republican papers; that he had written Mr. Dingley asking its publication in the *Telegraph* in full, or, at least, substantially so, and that Mr. Dingley had replied that it was impossible for him to print it except in supplement form, and that he would cheerfully print it if Mr. Burrows would pay the expense of composition and paper; that Mr. Dingley had charged him exorbitant prices for work he had done at the *Telegraph* office; that he was sick and tired of Dingley anyway, who was only a "nasty, mean, penurious little Yankee from Maine." He thereupon turned to me and said:

"Harry, I wish you would go to Kalamazoo and buy out Kendall and run this man Dingley ashore. I will raise the money to buy the paper, and will help you in every way in my power, and when the time comes, if the Senator is willing, will make you postmaster of Kalamazoo to help you out in this enterprise. The *Telegraph* is a 'dead weight' on the party under Dingley's management, and I want to freeze him out as quick as I can."

I responded, laughingly, that I recalled several promises of his (Burrows) in 1874 about the Kalamazoo post-office which had gone to protest, and that I had no inclination to go into any newspaper enterprise at the present time, while I was certainly not willing to start in with a paper as a rival to the *Telegraph*, of which I had formerly been editor and half owner. Senator Stockbridge then intervened, and, in his good-natured way, said:

"Burrows, you get excited too easy; you must take things philosophically. You ought to bear in mind that it takes money to run a good newspaper, and that there are mighty few country newspapers in Michigan, or elsewhere, which are making more than a living. You are too hard on Brother Dingley entirely. He has never overcharged me, and has always been very obliging."

To this Mr. Burrows responded violently that—

"The situation is different with you. Dingley is not a candidate

for your place, and has no grudge or spite against you ; you have not a speech on the tariff which is being copied all over the country, and which Dingley ought to print in full, and you have not been subjected to the treatment at his hands that I have."

Mr. Olds thereupon rallied Burrows about the matter, and after some further conversation, in which Mr. Burrows continued to denounce Mr. Dingley quite as bitterly as before, Mr. Burrows left in great haste, saying that he was going straight to his office, on F street, to have Smith Fry write up the matter for the *Tribune* and give Dingley a good "roast." As a matter of fact, Mr. Burrows did leave the house at once. A day or two afterwards Mr. Fry came to me with a typewritten article, which I recall as the substance of the dispatch printed in the *Tribune* of January 21, 1894. He said :

"Harry, I am in a heap of trouble with Burrows about this article. He is very bitter against Dingley of the *Telegraph* because of his refusal to print his (Burrows') tariff speech, and also because Dingley has refused to print other speeches of his. He dictated a very bitter and violent article which I have toned down and changed, and yet have made it pretty severe on Dingley. I am between two fires. I am getting \$100 a month as Burrows' clerk, and am furnishing him with office room, stenographer, and messenger, to do such work as he may require in the mornings and evenings. I am also the correspondent of the Detroit *Tribune*, receiving the same salary. This dispatch, if published, and I presume it will be, will raise hell—Dingley will come back at Burrows, and as a usual result, Burrows will 'crawl'; then Mr. Gillett (managing editor of the *Tribune*) will get after me and will apologize to Dingley, which will leave me hanging in mid air. What would you do?"

I replied that if Burrows insisted on it, I would send the dispatch and hold him responsible for it. I asked if Mr. Burrows had written out any portion of this matter. He said yes, he had written out several paragraphs, which he pointed out, and he indicated the line of attack he desired me to make.

"Now," said Mr. Fry with great earnestness, "I have a little personal interest in this publication, for the reason that I wrote or procured the material for about one-half of Burrows' speech on the tariff, and I am rather proud of it, and think it is as good as any of the speeches which Burrows has ever read in Congress. I have, therefore, naturally 'spread it on very thick,' as you will observe. I do not know Dingley, and I have no grudge against him whatever, but I am situated, as Henry Watterson would say, between 'Hell and the Iron Works,' and I have got to print this paragraph or lose this \$100 a month from Burrows, as well as incur his enmity. He is not much of a newspaper man; that is, he furnishes very little news, and although he ought to give me the cream of the news, he divides it up evenly with Frank Hosford of the *Free Press* and the other Detroit papers. I do not like that pretty much, but I can't help myself, for Burrows says he has to placate and keep in with the other correspondents. Of course I get left by it, but that is to be expected."

I repeated to Mr. Fry my suggestion that after long years of intimacy with Mr. Burrows, and full knowledge of his tricky, deceitful and hypocritical character, that he should take precaution to show in the future that Burrows had not only inspired, but required him to send this dispatch. He promised to do so and we parted. On the day following the publication of the dispatch Mr. Dingley wired both Senator Stockbridge and Burrows calling the attention of each to the dispatch, and asking of each if the dispatch was authorized by either, and if its allegations were true so far as each knew. Senator Stockbridge promptly replied denying the truth of the statements contained in the dispatch so far as they referred to him. Mr. Burrows remained silent. Later in the day he received another dispatch from editor Dingley of the most peremptory character demanding an immediate statement from him as to his responsibility for the article in question, and also a denial of the truth of its allegations. Still Mr. Burrows remained silent. On the following morning I met Senator Stockbridge, who told me that Burrows had put his foot in it very badly by attacking Dingley as he had, adding:

"I think it will cost Smith Fry his job as correspondent on the *Tribune*. Dingley wired me and I promptly answered. He has wired Burrows three times, but he has not yet responded, but will this morning. He showed me the dispatch, which I said would not satisfy Dingley, and I do not know what he will do."

Subsequently I learned that Mr. Dingley, on receiving Mr. Burrows' dispatch, wired in reply that it was not satisfactory, and demanded a full and immediate retraction of the charges contained in the *Tribune* dispatch within fifteen minutes after receiving his (Dingley's) dispatch. Representative Burrows thereupon sent a dispatch denying absolutely all knowledge, connection, or complicity with the said *Tribune* dispatch of January 20. I was much interested in the affair, because it illustrated perfectly the hypocritical, sneaking, and deceitful character of Julius Caesar Burrows, of which I had long been aware. I had had many conversations with Senator Stockbridge in regard to Representative Burrows, in which he had told me that Burrows was constantly and secretly traducing and slandering him, in spite of the fact that he had always contributed freely to Burrows' Congressional campaigns; that he had loaned him money or indorsed his notes to carry on certain speculations, and yet he was constantly being treated by Burrows with the vilest treachery. He frequently referred to Burrows' treachery in the matter of the "Brule and Ontonagon grant," and said:

"I made a mistake in helping this 'rascal' to get back into Congress. He did nothing towards passing the bill through the House, which any other Republican member from this district could have done, and I knew the real fight would be in the Senate, as it proved, but Burrows begged and pleaded like a whipped hound to be forgiven and restored to Congress, and of course I yielded and helped him back. In spite of the fact that he and his wife have been my guests for dinner every Sunday, as you know, he is constantly

traducing me and I have this straight from two members of the House, who despise him as heartily as you do. But what can you do with such a creature, who has no moral sensibilities or feeling whatever? You might as well appeal to a log as to his sense of morality or integrity on political affairs. He would cut the throat of his brother or of any human being, no matter what he had done for him, if the brother or any other person stood in his way politically. I hear that he is speculating in stocks, and when I told him that if it were so I would not loan him another dollar or indorse his notes, he replied that he was not such a fool as to dabble in stocks, and yet I have learned positively that he has been stock-jobbing for five or six years."

Another conversation of this character, which will be noted in another and more appropriate place, will be given. A few days after this conversation, Mr. Fry came to me with a copy of the Detroit *Tribune* and called my attention to an editorial paragraph, in which the *Tribune* apologized to Mr. Dingley for Fry's dispatch, saying that it did Mr. Dingley an injustice, was inaccurate, and should not have been published, and expressed profound regret for its publication. When that session terminated, Mr. Fry's connection with the paper, as its Washington correspondent, ceased. Last fall, while home, I inquired of Mr. Dingley in regard to this matter, and told him what I knew, having told him in December, 1894, that he ought not to hold Mr. Fry responsible for the dispatch in question, as it was inspired and dictated by Mr. Burrows himself and that Mr. Fry felt that if he did not send it that he would lose his place as clerk and the friendship of Mr. Burrows, who was very bitter against him (Dingley). Subsequently Mr. Dingley stated to me that Mr. Olds had told him that the statement I had made as to Burrows' inspiring and dictating this dispatch was absolutely correct of his own personal knowledge, and that he was amazed that Burrows should try to put the responsibility upon Fry, who was an unwilling agent in the matter.

In September last, Mr. Dingley told me that Representative Burrows had told him that he had a letter from Mr. Fry vindicating him (Burrows) from all knowledge or participation in the said dispatch, saying that it was his own (Fry's) production derived partly from statements made by Mr. Burrows, &c. Mr. Burrows repeatedly promised Mr. Dingley to show him the alleged letter from Mr. Fry, but up to date has never done so. This is simply another illustration or exhibit in support of my charge that Julius Caesar Burrows is a hypocrite, a demagogue, and a liar.

[For Washington dispatch to Detroit *Tribune* referred to, see next page.]

[*The Tribune's Washington Dispatch.*.]

BONUS FOR PRINTING NEWS.

WHAT A MICHIGAN EDITOR DEMANDS OF CONGRESSMEN.

SUBSCRIBERS CLAMOR FOR SPEECHES WHILE HE WAITS FOR MONEY.

AN EXPLANATION THAT WILL BE A REVELATION TO HIS READERS.

WASHINGTON, SPECIAL TELEGRAM, Jan. 20.—There is a man in the newspaper business within two hundred miles of Detroit who is engaged in a small piece of business which deserves public mention. One of the most distinguished members of the House of Representatives has his home in the town where the newspaper is published. He has given his influence and standing for many years to aid the newspaper, by holding the Republican organization solidly in its support. He has seen to it that good business, particularly during campaigns, was sent to the newspaper, and good prices paid for work.

There is a United States Senator whose home is in the town where the newspaper referred to is published. He has contributed largely to the financial success of the paper; and yet, when he wanted a small article inserted in the paper on one occasion, and stated that he wanted to pay for it, a bill for \$20 was sent to him, which he paid, although at exorbitant advertising rates the matter was really worth but \$1 or \$2.

During the debate on the repeal of the Sherman silver law, the eminent Congressman delivered a speech which was quoted all over the country and highly commended. The editor of his home paper barely alluded to the speech editorially. He, however, published a portion of the speech, and then sent a bill to the Congressman for having printed a speech which every one of his subscribers wanted to read, and which they were entitled to get in their home paper.

The distinguished member of Congress recently delivered a speech on the tariff, which was published in full in New York and Chicago papers. From one column to four columns of the speech were published in all of the newspapers of the North which are of the same political faith, belonging to the same party, and proud of the Congressman for his strength and power to defend the cause and the principles which he champions.

WANTED A CONSIDERATION.

Every leading newspaper commented upon the speech. The National Committee of the party to which the Congressional leader belongs has ordered 100,000 copies of the speech to be used as a campaign document. Eminent men from every State in the

Union have written the eminent Congressman, congratulating him upon his speech and thanking him for his splendid party services.

The newspapers in his home town did not print the speech ; did not print a column of it ; did not print half a column, and made only a scant allusion, editorially, to the fact that a speech has been delivered.

The patrons of the newspaper were clamoring for the speech, because the Congressman is their townsman ; they know him ; they admire him ; they know him for one of the foremost orators of this day ; they besought the editor to print the speech. He declined to do so. But, he wrote to the member of Congress soliciting the business of printing the speech, for a consideration.

Of course, newspapers must live, and they are entitled to support from their party leaders. The paper in question has always received proper support and kind treatment. Under the circumstances, whatever name may be applied to the editor's conduct, the people are entitled to know existing conditions. The people of the Congressional district are entitled to know the situation. The *Tribune* circulates in the district in question.

S. D. FRY.

The foregoing dispatch should be read in the light of the fact that Julius Cesar Burrows never paid a dollar even as a subscriber to the *Telegraph* unless lately ; that for over a quarter of a century he has been a political mendicant at its door ; that the bulk of his campaign expenses—never heavy—have been paid by his father-in-law ; brother-in-law ; the late Senator Stockbridge ; by “protected interests” from whom he has solicited contributions, by the Pennsylvania R.R., and for the last four years by the Blodgetts and lobbyist “Nat” McKay. From 1878 to date, with the exception of the years 1894 and 1898 when he was a candidate for election to the Senate, Julius Cesar Burrows has never “campaigned” the State of Michigan. This is a matter of record, and has been the subject of comment among those who have kept close watch of his political movements. In all the other campaign years he has been in the employ of the Republican National and Congressional Campaign Committees at \$50.00 per speech—frequently making two a day, thus receiving \$100.00 per day—and all his travelling expenses. This is known to all the old Republican campaign committee managers, who have spoken of it with disgust and contempt. It is an “open secret” here, and has been for years, that in the campaign of 1890—an off year—the “Columbian Orator” was employed by the chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee at the usual rates ; that he was working through New York eastward when he concluded to “raise the limit ;” that he wired and wrote the chairman that his own district was in danger and that unless he at once returned to and looked after it personally he would be defeated, and asking to have substitutes announced for his dates ; that the chairman wired it was impossible to let him off as substitutes could not then be got, and asking if financial assistance would not pull him through ; that

the "Orator" replied that possibly it would, but it would be too big a figure, as he alone could save his district; that he was then asked to name a figure, and responded that \$5,000.00 would save him; that that sum was sent him; that he continued his tour and kept his dates, afterwards putting in some work in his district, which was carefully looked after by Senator Stockbridge and others, the chairman of Burrows' Congressional Committee reporting an expenditure by him of some \$800.00, of which the Senator subscribed \$500.00, while the "Orator" never "chipped in" a dollar for his own election. And yet this professional politician has the brazen effrontery to prate of his "long, arduous and tireless service for the Republican party" as a reason for his being kept perpetually in office, and the Burrows "lictors" (and lick-spittles) from the Detroit *Journal*—owned by ex-Senator Palmer, a two-dollar lumberman, and the beneficiary of Burrows' treachery to his State as a conferee on that item, of thousands of dollars—Collector Rich and the federal office-holders down to the smallest fish, including that important person committee clerk Rose and back to the *Journal* again in the person of "Chief Gusher" General "Yusef," all take up the glad refrain of "Burrows Forever; To Hell with the Pope, and Damn Pingree!"

A member of the Republican National Committee for nearly 20 years told me recently that once with his associates he made a careful computation of the money the two committees—National and State—had paid Burrows for his "campaign thunder" and expenses and they figured out—not including the \$5,000.00 out of which Burrows "buncoed" the Congressional Committee in 1890—that the "Columbian Orator" had cost them since the campaign of 1878—leaving out his two personal campaigns of Michigan for Senator in 1894 and 1898—about \$24,000. He penciled out these figures, which I still have in his handwriting, viz:

"Julius Caesar Burrows

To Republican National and Congressional Campaign Committees, Dr.

"To money received for campaign speeches and personal expenses since 1878 to 1898, inclusive (excepting years 1894 and 1898). \$24,000 "

NOTE.—Burrows averaged over 50 speeches in each campaign, often speaking in the September and October States.

" 50 speeches at \$50 each for each campaign.	\$2,500
9 campaigns at \$2,500 each.	22,500
Personal expenses of 'Columbian Orator'.	2,500
<hr/>	
Total.	\$27,500
Deduct for payments by local committees.	3,500
<hr/>	
Balance	\$24,000 "

"Burrows is a good stumper," said the national committeeman, "for small cities, large villages, and the 'rural districts.' He is a dead failure in a large city or before an intelligent and educated audience. The first time I heard him, back in 1876, he gave me the 'cramps' with his bloody-shirt 'yawp' after Grant had said, 'Let us have peace.' Tilden was the Democratic candidate, was as 'loyal' as Burrows, and had repudiated all 'war claims,' which was Burrows' chief theme. And yet this blatant, bloody-shirt 'spouter,' who knows nothing of finance, the currency, the tariff, labor and kindred questions, and absolutely nothing of our all-important foreign relations and policy, has been able to fool you Michiganders and keep constantly in office! How does he do it?"

"He don't fool us—that is, but a few 'suckers,'" I answered, "but he has kept in office by hanging on to Senator Stockbridge—though constantly false and untrue to him—and since Stockbridge's death to the Blodgetts and lobbyist 'Nat' McKay. This new legislature cannot be bought up like cattle as was a large part of the legislature of 1894, because the men so bought were largely the 'scum' which came in during the Republican flood of that year. That's the reason!"

As a matter of course, it will be said that this is hearsay and loose allegation, born of personal spite. Very well. Let any person who wants information on this point step into the office of Schuyler S. Olds, at Lansing, and ask him about it. He was elected secretary of the committee, but declined after a while to serve further for good reasons. I have his letter before me with much fuller particulars than I have given above. And then, while on the subject of the "Columbian Orator's" receiving \$50 and expenses per speech, as heretofore stated, let me relate the following incident. On the Saturday night preceding the election of 1896, I was in the Cosmopolitan Club of Kalamazoo playing whist or hearts with a party consisting of the late Dr. Foster Pratt, of that city, Jacob K. Wagner, a leading citizen and wealthy capitalist, Hon. N. H. Stewart, a leading attorney, and either Mr. Sydney Faxon or some other gentleman. Mr. Wagner, who is a Democrat, jocularly remarked that the Democrats could not win because they "had no money to hire orators"; that about two weeks previous he was in Grand Rapids and while in the waiting-room of the Morton House writing a letter, he heard the voice of Julius Caesar Burrows behind him. The "Columbian Orator" was engaged in conversation with apparently a committee appointed to get him to speak in their city. The "Orator" plead that he must look after some private business affairs in that city and Kalamazoo; that he was paying his own expenses; that he was a poor man, etc. (same old lie,) and really they must let him off this time. Thereupon spoke one of the trio and said that they appreciated the Senator's situation, etc.; that they expected to pay him for the speech and all his expenses and give him a big meeting, etc. "Very well," said the "Orator" in those deep chest tones which are the admiration of the "Burrows lictors" and almost throw "General Yusef" into fits—of ecstasy when he

hears them reverberating for miles in the vicinity of the "Orator," crippling cattle and destroying vegetation, which he describes in his despatches as "Burrows awakening the echoes"—"with that understanding I will go." "What will be your terms, Senator?" said the leading committeeman. The Senator toyed with a toothpick a moment and replied, "How does \$100 strike you?" "All right," responded the committeeman, and they shook hands and parted. "I thought," said Mr. Wagner, "they were from Ionia." There was no secrecy imposed and it was an open "free-for-all" conversation which I took note of. Some "red-headed rooster" in Ionia got on his ear either at the request of the "Orator" or "Friday" Rose, and denied the story. Since then Mr. Wagner has told and written me that he was satisfied the party was from Lowell, and private investigation has satisfied me that was the town. No matter what the place was, the conversation occurred as stated and the "Columbian Orator" got \$100 for "speaking his piece" at some city near Grand Rapids, while throughout the entire campaign the Blodgetts and lobbyist "Nat" McKay were paying all his campaign expenses. And yet this demagogue ranted about Colonel Bryan "receiving subscriptions" by assessing the towns where he spoke in the same campaign! "Oh Shame, where is thy blush?"

On the 29th of September the Detroit *Journal* published a scurilous and lying letter written by William E. Curtis, the notorious Washington correspondent of the Chicago *Record*. Mr. Curtis had previously sent it to the Detroit *News*, the editor of which excluded the personal attacks upon me and printed the "meat"—what there was—of the letter. I was then *en route* here, and on reaching Washington, made reply as hereinafter stated. After some delay, Editor Livingstone returned it to me with the absurd remark that my communication was declined with thanks.

As Editor Baker of the *News* had declined to print Mr. Curtis' letter in full, on account of its personal attacks on me, he could not consistently print my "rejoinder," which I am willing to concede is decidedly personal in its allusion to Mr. Curtis. For that reason, and in order to bring out fully the vile treachery and assassin-like course of Julius Caesar Burrows towards General Alger in the fall and winter of 1887 and winter and spring of 1888, I print it in this pamphlet.

I will be only too happy to submit to any investigating committee of the Michigan legislature the names of twenty-five prominent citizens of Michigan—including Hon. Schuyler S. Olds, of Lansing, who knows some additional facts—who know of their own personal knowledge of the truth of the statement I have made in this particular regard.

To the Editor of the Detroit Journal:

On the 3d instant at the Russell House in Detroit—where I had just arrived from Kalamazoo—my attention was called to a publication in your issue of the 29th ultimo of a letter from William E. Curtis, the Washington correspondent of the Chicago *Record*, concerning myself, and dated Washington, September 26th, the day after the arrival there of Senator Burrows from Detroit. I left Detroit that night, and, until now, by reason of illness and absence from the city, have been unable to make reply.

Your editorial statement preceding it was a surprise to me, especially your characterization of Mr. Curtis as "the leading correspondent of Washington," and saying that "his standing among newspaper men and statesmen is of the highest, and his reputation for veracity stands 'unimpeached.'" I will fully establish, before I am through with Mr. Curtis in this matter, that no other reputable paper in the United States—except possibly the Chicago *Record*—and no correspondent in Washington of any standing or character will give Mr. Curtis the endorsement the *Journal* gave him.

I have known Mr. Curtis for many years, and his attack upon me was a surprise. It was made the day following Senator Burrows' arrival in Washington from Detroit, and the visit of the Senator to correspondent Curtis was announced by your Washington correspondent. What the consideration was that Mr. Curtis received for his letter is known only to the Senator and himself. It was written at the request of ex-Senator Palmer and Senator Burrows, for the sole purpose of breaking down the publication I had made in the Detroit *News* of September 19th, that Mr. Palmer had obtained from the War Department the army record of General Alger for publication on the eve of the Republican National Convention at Chicago, on June 19, 1888, and also to break the force, if possible, of my statement that in December, 1887, Mr. Burrows gave me the substance of said record, which included the letters of Generals Custer, Merritt, and Torbert, and the indorsement of General Sheridan recommending the dismissal of General Alger from the army for repeated absence from his command without leave. I stated in the *News* publication that I refused to be a party to such a publication, or to circulate the story in any way among the Washington correspondents, as Mr. Burrows requested. I also stated that following my said refusal to be a party to the attack which Senator Palmer and Representative Burrows contemplated on General Alger, Mr. Burrows read to me a statement which, if published, would have very grievously wounded General Alger's feelings; that he asked me to procure the publication in the social gossip of some New York or Southern paper of the article he read to me; that he asked me to give it to Miss Austine Snead, formerly a correspondent for the *Free Press*, and then the Washington society correspondent of several prominent papers, with the request that she would publish so much of it as she could, and that she would verbally state to the society leaders in Washington, with whom she was necessarily well

acquainted in her search for news, the facts contained in the paper Mr. Burrows read to me, with the view of preventing the appointment of General Alger as Secretary of War, which, Mr. Burrows stated, was the goal of his ambition. Mr. Burrows added, "You may say to Miss Snead that if she will do this I will see that she gets one hundred dollars." I refused with some vehemence to be a party to this dirty work which Mr. Burrows proposed, and he then said, "All right, I will see her myself." Shortly afterward Miss Snead called on me and stated that Mr. Burrows had called upon her and requested her to make public, both by letter and verbally to the society leaders in Washington, the contents of the paper which Mr. Burrows read to me. She stated to me the substance of the paper and of Mr. Burrows' argument to induce her to use the matter as he desired, saying that Mr. Burrows offered her one hundred dollars to procure its publication. Miss Snead was very indignant at the proposition made by Mr. Burrows, and requested him to leave and never again speak to her. This fact—which I did not state in the *News* publication—is known to at least a dozen persons in Washington to whom Miss Snead stated the facts in December, 1887.

Referring to that paragraph, Mr. Curtis, in his letter of September 26th, says :

"FURTHERMORE, THE MISS SNEAD TO WHOM MR. SMITH REFERS, DIED LONG BEFORE HIS ALLEGED INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR BURROWS COULD HAVE TAKEN PLACE, AND THE LATTER WOULD NOT BE SO ABSURD AS TO ASK MR. SMITH TO GIVE A COPY OF GENERAL ALGER'S WAR RECORD TO A DEAD WOMAN."

In reply to this false statement, I clip the following from the *Washington Post* of March 23, 1888, which I find on page 3 of that issue :

MISS SNEAD'S DEATH.

"MISS AUSTINE SNEAD, POPULARLY KNOWN TO NEWSPAPER READERS AS 'MISS GRUNDY,' DIED SOMEWHAT SUDDENLY AT HER RESIDENCE, 1534 I STREET, N.W., YESTERDAY MORNING ABOUT TEN O'CLOCK. HER ILLNESS, OCCASIONED BY PNEUMONIA, WAS SHORT. SHE WAS NOT CONSIDERED DANGEROUSLY ILL BY HER PHYSICIAN, DR. G. L. MAGRUDER, UNTIL WEDNESDAY, AND WAS OUT ON SATURDAY LAST THOUGH QUITE UNWELL."

Then follows a sketch of her life, character, and writings, the papers with which she was connected, etc. "At the time of her death," says the *Post* article, "she was connected with the *Boston Courier*, *New York Herald*, *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and *Harper's Bazaar*. SHE WAS BURIED IN OAK HILL CEMETERY, GEORGETOWN, MARCH 24, 1888."

What new lie Mr. William Elleroy Curtis, the Washington correspondent of the Chicago *Record*, whose "standing among newspaper men and statesmen is of the highest," and whose "reputation for veracity stands unimpeached"—according to the *Journal*—will now concoct to squeeze out of the lie above quoted from his letter of September 26, remains to be seen. I leave this conclusive evidence

of Mr. Curtis' deliberate falsehood to the candid and honest judgment of the editor, as well as readers of the *Journal*, without further comment.

In the *News* publication of September 19, I stated the object of Mr. Burrows' visit to me immediately after the convening of the first session of the Fiftieth Congress on December 5, 1887. I said that preceding the reading by Mr. Burrows of the papers above referred to, that gentleman said substantially as follows: "As you are aware, General Alger, at great expense, has been organizing Alger clubs throughout Michigan; has been giving out flour and coal, boots and shoes, and other things to poor families—in which there were voters—and his purpose is to swamp all independent Republican action in Michigan for other candidates for the Presidency next year. If, as Republicans all believe, we secure the next House of Representatives on the tariff issue, the principal candidate for Speaker from the East will be Reed, while the candidates from the West will be McKinley, Cannon, and myself. I have every reason to believe that the Western Republicans will unite on me, while I have reason to expect the solid Pennsylvania delegation, through the promises of Senators Quay and Cameron, which delegation, you remember, nominated General Keifer, Speaker in the Forty-seventh Congress. The only chance for me, therefore, is to break down General Alger. His purpose is to make a candidacy for President, and, failing to secure that, he will become a candidate for Secretary of War, and, in the event of his success, I shall be knocked out of the Speakership."

Mr. Burrows then read the papers above referred to—the first of which I still have—and we had the conversation stated. I replied, as stated in the *News*, that I did not believe he could make any headway with the story, as no Republican paper of prominence would print it, as General Alger had been elected Governor of Michigan by the Republican party in 1884. To that statement Mr. Burrows replied that "Alger barely pulled through with so popular a candidate as Blaine running, and that Alger did not dare stand for re-election." Mr. Burrows was indignant about the corruption of Michigan caucuses and conventions by General Alger, and said the Republican party would come to grief by it. I also stated, in reply to repeated urging by Mr. Burrows, that I would not do what he wished without consulting with my friend Governor Blair. I immediately wrote the Governor, stating the substance of the interview, and asking his advice. I have his reply, under date of December 13, 1887, advising me to have nothing whatever to do with the circulation of the story, saying that I knew very well how tricky and unreliable Captain Burrows was, and also that he "had been informed during the previous month that Senator Thomas W. Palmer had obtained General Alger's record from the War Department and intended procuring its publication."

I also stated in the *News* article that the publication was not made until June, 1888, on the eve of the National Convention at Chicago. It was published in the New York *Sun* and destroyed

whatever chances General Alger had for securing the nomination for President.

I am informed that ex-Senator Palmer has published an article in the *News* in which he states that he was not responsible for, and did not procure, any publication in the New York *Sun* in June, 1888, concerning General Alger's army record. Mr. Palmer is quite right in denying the accuracy of the above paragraph. In common with the Washington correspondents and the general belief or opinion, I was under the impression that the *Sun* publication was made in June, 1888. That was also the opinion of Mr. David Barry, the Washington correspondent of the New York *Sun*, a citizen of Michigan, born at Monroe, who personally searched with great care the files of the *Sun* from June 1st to June 25th—the day the Chicago convention adjourned—for the "Alger record," without success. I then looked the matter up and found that the first publication was made on February 11, 1892, when delegates were being selected to attend the Republican National Convention which met at Minneapolis on June 7, 1892. I can only explain the erroneous impression I had—which was and is the general impression—by reason of the fact that General Duffield—or Colonel Hecker—telegraphed to Representative O'Donnell, of the Jackson district, to procure without delay an official copy of General Alger's military record from start to finish, and send it immediately to General Duffield at the Grand Pacific Hotel, Chicago. General Duffield is now in Detroit, I believe, and the *Journal* can very easily ascertain whether or not he sent the dispatch, or whether it was sent by Colonel Hecker. They had learned that the managers of Senator Sherman had a copy of General Alger's army record and that they had threatened its publication unless the Alger managers "stopped tampering with Southern and other delegates pledged to Mr. Sherman." It is immaterial who sent the dispatch, but ex-Representative O'Donnell posted with great haste to the War Department and obtained an official copy of General Alger's record, which he addressed to General Duffield at the Grand Pacific Hotel, Chicago, and sent it by Adams Express. Afterward he ascertained that he could gain twelve hours by sending it by special messenger to General Duffield. He accordingly withdrew the package from the express office and sent it by Mr. Chillian P. Conger—son of the late ex-Senator Omar D. Conger—who told, with a great deal of disgust, his inability for several hours to reach General Duffield with the package which he was instructed by Mr. O'Donnell to deliver *only* to General Duffield.

Why not inquire of General Duffield, who is a truthful man, as to the truth or falsity of this statement?

Senator Sherman's managers did not use the material they had procured from the War Department, and, consequently, no publication was made by General Duffield or Colonel Hecker of the papers they had procured from the War Department. I was the parliamentary secretary of that convention, and I knew of the existence of both copies, and know that leading members of the convention discussed it; that the managers of Senator Allison, ex-Senator Harri-

son, and Mr. Depew opposed the publication of the paper procured by Mr. Sherman's managers, while the friends of Mr. Gresham urged its immediate publication in the *Chicago Tribune*.

I referred incidentally in the *News* publication to the fact that within three months I had been told by Mr. Curtis and Mr. Barry certain facts in regard to the *Sun* publication and said that "Curtis told me that Burrows had importuned him and others to print the story on Alger, which his paper declined to do." I should have added the paragraph—in order to make it perfectly clear—that the refusal of the *Chicago Record* to print the story was to make an initial publication, and the files of that paper will show that immediately *after* the publication in the *Sun* of February 11th, 1892, Mr. William Elleroy Curtis, its Washington correspondent—with the same ghoulish glee that he bitterly assailed and denounced Mr. Blaine, week after week and month after month, when he was a candidate for President, until Mr. Blaine silenced him with place and patronage—attacked General Alger. In his letter of September 26th, he says: "My paper did not decline to print Secretary Alger's war record, but has published it over my signature several times." An examination of Curtis' dispatches will show that of all the personal enemies who attacked Mr. Blaine and General Alger, none exceeded Curtis in the bitterness—amounting almost to ferocity—with which he attacked them. The most villainous and infamous stories which were circulated about these gentlemen were eagerly snapped up by Mr. Curtis and sent to his paper, and it was not until Mr. Blaine promised Mr. Curtis an important place prior to the convention of 1888—when he expected but did not receive the nomination for President—that Mr. Curtis' attacks upon Mr. Blaine ceased. Mr. Curtis had the hardihood and effrontery to publicly and privately support Mr. Blaine's candidacy at that convention, and it is a fact well known in Washington that after Mr. Blaine became Secretary of State in General Harrison's administration, he rewarded Curtis by giving him place and patronage, on which he has prospered to the extent of being worth, as is generally asserted, \$150,000, whereas he came to Washington in 1876 as a "helper" in the *Chicago Inter-Ocean's* Washington bureau, "poor as a church mouse," as the saying goes. Mr. Curtis has not ceased attacking General Alger, and because of the refusal of President McKinley to appoint him as Chief of the Bureau of American Republics, Mr. Curtis has covertly and slyly—like the newspaper assassin that he is—criticised the President's course. He has for some time past been attacking Colonel Humphreys on General Miles' staff for his refusal to allow the item of \$100,000 claimed by the Plant System for transportation of troops, etc. For some years past the story has been current among Washington reporters and correspondents that Mr. Curtis has been the agent of Mr. Plant in his efforts to secure a subsidy for a steamship line to South America, and I will give at the proper time the names of reliable correspondents to establish the truth of this assertion.

It is well known that Secretary Gresham dismissed Curtis from the

position of Superintendent of the State Department exhibit at the Chicago exposition; that he repeatedly stated to reliable correspondents here that he was never able to get a satisfactory settlement of Curtis' accounts, and that he ordered Curtis out of his office when the latter proposed to tell him some alleged "crooked" things that Secretary Blaine—for years his patron saint—had done.

It is of record that Mr. Curtis in the Fifty-fourth Congress figured as a lobbyist and used his position as the correspondent of the Chicago *Record* to extort from Mr. Emile M. Blum, who was United States Commissioner General to the International Exposition at Barcelona in 1889, a small sum of money in consideration of Curtis' using his influence with Mr. Cannon, of Illinois, Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, in securing the insertion in the sundry civil bill of an appropriation of \$11,000 to Mr. Blum for his expenses and services in making said exposition a success.

Mr. Dunnell, the Washington correspondent for many years of the New York *Times*—whose integrity will not be questioned by any man who knows him—published the facts in his dispatches in the *Times* of April 18th, 1895, which appear in the *Times* of the following day. In this dispatch Mr. Dunnell states that at the Chicago exposition Mr. Blum and Mr. Curtis first met; that Blum was a "promoter" and Curtis was willing to be one; that Blum and others were organizing "The International Manufacturers' Exposition Agency," and Curtis invested \$650 in it; that the company did not succeed as was expected, but it did not prove a total failure, as Mr. Curtis got \$418.16 as earnings or profits; that the item appropriating \$11,000 was inserted in the Senate as an amendment; that it went to conference, and that the House conferees, Messrs. Cannon, Sayers, of Texas, and O'Neil, of Massachusetts, would only agree to the allowance of about one-third of the claim; that Mr. Curtis called upon Mr. Blum to pay up the difference; that Mr. Blum, who did not obtain what he expected, did not pay up, and that Mr. Curtis then did a rash thing in writing the following letter:

“ POST BUILDING,
“ WASHINGTON, D. C., April 12, 1895.

“ MR. EMILE M. BLUM,
“ New York City.

“ DEAR SIR: Before I leave for China, on the 20th instant, I want to give you one more chance to do the fair thing. I did exactly what I agreed to do, and expect you to do the same. I did not pledge you the support of Mr. Cannon, but I told you I would do the best I could with him, and if I had not gone to him your paragraph would have been stricken out of the bill.

“ You say that you will do the proper thing when you get the rest of your money, but unless you settle on this appropriation, as you agreed to do, I fear you will never get any more on that account, because when Mr. Cannon comes to Washington again I shall tell

him the whole story, and I do not think he will be inclined to favor you.

"I was out \$650 by the company. I received \$418.16, leaving a balance of \$231.84, as I told you, which you agreed to make good. If you do not do so, everything is over between us.

"Yours truly,

"WILLIAM E. CURTIS."

Mr. Dunnell further states that Mr. Blum waited a few days, meanwhile taking legal advice, and sent the following reply to Mr. Curtis and copies to the House conferees, viz:

"NEW YORK, April 17, 1895.

"WILLIAM E. CURTIS, Esq.,

"Correspondent *Chicago Record*,

"Washington, D. C.

"DEAR SIR: I have your letter of April 12th, in which you ask me to pay you a sum of money for your services in having influenced Congressman Cannon, of Illinois, to support the amendment to the Sundry Civil Bill, authorizing the Treasury Department to reimburse me on account of expenses incurred as Commissioner General of the United States to the International Exposition at Barcelona in 1889. You refer to a recent conversation between us, as to which, on reflection, of course, you will agree that you were wholly mistaken.

"I do not propose to submit to this demand. The payment of money to a journalist for influencing a member of Congress to support a measure for the appropriation of public funds does not impress me as a particularly creditable transaction, and the fact that that journalist's paper happens to be a leading metropolitan daily, having a large circulation in the district represented by the Congressman claimed to have been so influenced, does not lend character to the deal. It would be dishonest for you to accept this money, and it would be dishonest for me to pay it to you.

"In view of your threat to influence Mr. Cannon to prevent the next Congress from appropriating the balance justly due me, on account of the Barcelona exposition, I have sent him, as well as the other members of the Appropriations Committee who have been re-elected to the Forty-fourth Congress, a copy of your letter and of this reply.

"Very truly yours,

"EMILE M. BLUM."

I leave out of consideration all the stories of the small "pickings" which Mr. Curtis has had during his career as a correspondent, mentioning only the story that for putting the name of a certain brand of champagne on the menu cards during the extensive junket of the Pan-American Congress,—which was handled by Mr. Curtis,—Mr. Curtis received the sum of \$300 from the agents who were handling that brand of champagne in the American market.

Mr. Curtis dictated to the Washington correspondent of the *News*,

after having been shown the paragraph in my article referring to him (Curtis) the following :

" No ; Palmer never had any connection with the *Sun* publication of Alger's army record *to my knowledge*. To the best of my recollection Harry Smith offered that story. Palmer hates Alger, but he is too lazy and too good-natured to do anything like that. Why, he wouldn't even hurt a fly."

In the paragraph in which Mr. Curtis says, " To the best of my recollection Harry Smith offered that story," he merely intended to be jocular, and start what, in the Prairie States, is popularly known as a " back-fire."

As but few Michigan people know anything about Mr. Curtis, save through the *Journal* publication of September 29th last, I will say that that statement is a deliberate lie, and without the slightest foundation to support it, and when Mr. Curtis—still in a jocular vein—says, " the last time I talked with Mr. Smith about Michigan polities he was eulogizing Senator Burrows and lambasting what he called the ' Pingree-Pack gaug,'" he forgets that in a few paragraphs above he stated that he had not seen me for more than three months, when, as stated, I met him near the Riggs National Bank with a friend of mine, in whose presence he stated that Mr. Palmer procured the record of General Alger from the War Department ; that he importuned him to send it to his paper, and that his paper declined to print it until it had been started elsewhere. There is no correspondent of prominence here, and certainly not a member of the Michigan delegation in Congress for the last four years, who does not know that I have assailed and denounced Senator Burrows " in season," and possibly out of season. The statement; therefore, that the last time he saw me I was " eulogizing Senator Burrows and lambasting the ' Pingree-Pack gang'" is not only a deliberate but an infamous lie, which only such a scurvy cur as William Elleroy Curtis would publish.

When he states that I have revolved around Senator Burrows long enough ; that Senator Burrows exercised a good deal of patience and influence in trying to keep me in office, and could not do any more for me, etc., he not only betrays the inspiration of Senator Burrows, who has made this false statement repeatedly—and which I shall show at the proper time to be absolutely without foundation—but also shows his animus and eagerness to break me down for the purpose of defending his " chum"—as he familiarly calls him—" Tom " Palmer.

It is known to scores of correspondents here, as well as to many members of Congress, that Mr. Curtis has repeatedly sneered at and sharply criticised Mr. Burrows. It is also known that he has privately denounced him as a demagogue, a weakling, and a dishonest man ; that he has repeatedly spoken of Mr. Burrows in the most contemptuous terms, and rejoiced over the statement I made that his term of office would certainly end on March 4, 1899. To a Michigan member he said : " Why don't you send ' Peppermint '

Todd in place of Burrows? You could then depend on knowing how Todd stood and would vote on any given question."

I referred to Mr. David S. Barry, the Washington correspondent of the New York *Sun*, in the same paragraph I referred to the statement of Mr. Curtis. Why does not the *Journal* get a denial from Mr. Barry as to the truth of my statement?

In another paragraph Mr. Curtis says that he did not tell me "the facts regarding the *Sun* publication, because I never knew them, and I do not believe Mr. Barry did, for he was not connected with the New York *Sun* at the time." In a previous paragraph Mr. Curtis contradicts this statement, and says that his paper printed Secretary Alger's war record over his signature several times. If Mr. Curtis had taken the trouble to refer to page 175 of the Congressional Directory for the second session of the Fifty-first Congress, published on January 15, 1891, he would have found, under the head of "Members of the Press," the following line: "Barry, David S., New York *Sun* and Detroit *Journal*, office 1417 G street, N.W.," while the *Sun* publication of General Alger's record was not made until a year later, viz: February 11, 1892, while Mr. Barry was in full charge of the *Sun* and Detroit *Journal* bureaus.

This is only another nail in the coffin which I am constructing for Mr. William Elleroy Curtis, whom the *Journal* vouches for as a "man of the highest standing and whose reputation for veracity stands unmolested."

As illustrating Curtis' cunning and venality, a prominent Washington correspondent relates the story of how Curtis was brought to grief *en route* to Washington after the Republican National Convention which met in Chicago on June 3rd and adjourned on June 6th, 1884, after the nomination of Mr. Blaine. Curtis was vigorously "belching" for Arthur, with the hope of securing a "soft snap" in the State Department. He abused Blaine in his usual coarse and ruffianly manner and was "called down" one day by a "bronchobuster" friend of Mr. Blaine from the far West, who notified Curtis that if he repeated any more of his abuse of Mr. Blaine he would smash his face. The alacrity with which Mr. Curtis stopped his "yawp" about Mr. Blaine was amusing to the "boys." Immediately after the nomination of Mr. Blaine, Mr. Curtis, who had taken charge of the literary bureau in President Arthur's behalf, gathered up with great care and pains all the telegrams which had been sent from the White House and elsewhere in President Arthur's interest, with a view of utilizing them in the future. Many of these dispatches, the correspondent stated, gave pledges asked for, and if published would have been of the most highly sensational character and greatly embarrassed President Arthur as well as the senders of these telegrams. Mr. Curtis saw his opportunity to use these dispatches as a leverage to ingratiate himself into Mr. Blaine's favor. "The King is dead! Long live the King!"

Mr. Curtis set out from Chicago for Washington with all speed, having taken the precaution to write and wire Mr. Blaine that he had important matters to submit to him and that he desired here-

after to be his friend. It was not long after Mr. Curtis escaped from the Arthur headquarters with hundreds of these telegrams that the fact was discovered that they were in his possession and that he had left for Washington. He was repeatedly wired on the train in respect to the telegrams, but made no response.

Imagine Mr. Curtis' surprise when he reached Washington to find that the extra grip in which he had packed these dispatches, letters and other convention material for future use, was missing. He had the check, but the R. R. Company did not have the grip, and the correspondent relates with great gusto how a gentleman, who Mr. Curtis subsequently discovered was a United States secret service detective, tapped him on the shoulder and notified him that he was wanted at a certain office without delay. But why delay the dénouement? Mr. Curtis was convinced that he had reached a place at last in his career where it was desirable to keep his mouth shut,—at least briefly,—and he succeeded admirably until the end of Mr. Arthur's administration on March 4th, 1885.

This and other equally dishonest and unworthy tricks by this dirty cur are narrated on all sides. I have occupied prominent positions in the House, Senate, and Treasury during most of Mr. Curtis' career here, which commenced as an assistant correspondent of the *Inter-Ocean* during the Forty-fourth Congress (1876), and if the record of my life and work can be "whistled down the wind" by this newspaper Fagin, who, without his connection with a respectable but misguided newspaper, would have no standing whatever in Washington, then I have lived in vain.

This letter is necessarily lengthy, but it does not give one-tenth of the slimy record of this newspaper assassin of the character and reputation of honest men. I believe I have a right to a full and fair hearing, particularly by reason of this editorial indorsement given Mr. Curtis. I have been a citizen of the State of Michigan since July, 1861. One year later I enlisted as a private in the 26th regiment of Michigan infantry, and served until discharged for physical disability and by special order of President Lincoln; was appointed to a clerkship in the Ordnance Bureau and was assigned to a confidential clerkship with Mr. Charles A. Dana, then Assistant Secretary of War. I cast my first vote for President Lincoln in 1864, and have never missed a Presidential or State election since. I have not always voted to suit Mr. Burrows and his "pie-eating" friend Brewer, but I have voted always as my conscience dictated, as I always expect to do. I was in 1870 and 1871 a half owner and editor of the Kalamazoo *Telegraph*; was secretary of the Republican State Central Committee in the campaign of 1870, and received the unanimous vote of thanks of that committee for my work, as well as the thanks of the successful candidates for Congress, especially from Mr. Couger and Mr. Waldron, who wrote that my earnest and zealous work had saved their elections; and I have their letters to establish this statement. In the same year I was also appointed special United States marshal for both districts of Michigan to supervise the collection of social statistics, including

debt, taxation, pauperism, crime, libraries, etc., etc. For my work in that respect I received the thanks of the Secretary of the Interior and General Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of the Census, and also a warm letter from Governor Baldwin, as well as the unanimous editorial indorsements of the leading papers of Michigan for my work in so fully collecting the information above referred to, which was missing in numerous other States. I have held important positions in the Treasury Department, the last being Assistant Register, during which time I was Acting Register for over a year; and held for fourteen years the important office of Journal Clerk of the House of Representatives, from which I was removed by Democratic clerks for political reasons only. I have been a frequent contributor to the columns of Detroit papers—including the *Journal*—and now I am a special clerk of the Committee on Ways and Means, employed for the purpose of collecting and compiling the legislative history of all the leading American tariff acts. I will cheerfully put the record of my life, and my character, reputation, and standing in the country as against that of this hired Hessian. I do not suppose that anything this professional liar, William Elleroy Curtis, may say or write will affect in the slightest degree those who know me; but the *Journal* article has circulated throughout Michigan among men who do not know me and has been copied in a Kalamazoo paper. I therefore ask as a right the publication of this statement, lengthy as it necessarily is, in order that I may be vindicated from the wanton and false attacks of this hireling William E. Curtis.

In the *News* publication I stated that Hon. Schuyler S. Olds, of Lansing, was fully aware of the desire and efforts of Representative Julius Cæsar Burrows in the winter and spring of 1887-'8 to secure the publication of General Alger's army record; that Mr. Olds—with the aid of Senator Stockbridge and others—finally succeeded in dissuading Mr. Burrows from procuring its publication. Mr. Olds resides at Lansing; the *Journal* has a correspondent there, and it can easily ascertain the truth or falsehood of my statement. And then there is Secretary Alger! Why not ask him what he knows about its truth or falsity? Mr. Curtis says that "Palmer hates Alger!" Why? Because Mr. Palmer kept General Alger out of Harrison's Cabinet as Secretary of War, and General Alger reciprocated by keeping Mr. Palmer out of Harrison's Cabinet as Secretary of Agriculture! And yet the servile Mr. Curtis says, "Why, Palmer wouldn't hurt a fly!" and finally, why does not the *Journal* ask Senator Burrows as to the truth or falsity of my statement as to the interview in December, 1887, when he read to me the papers described and asked me to procure their publication or the dissemination of their contents?

Why did he not immediately following its publication in the *News* deny its truth and denounce it as a falsehood? Why does he seek aid and comfort at the hands of a venal correspondent, who has always spoken of him with contempt, and also printed slurs and attacks upon him? The answer is very easy, and it is because he

dare not deny the truth of my statements. He knows that many people, members and ex-members of Congress, know they are true, and, above all, he knows full well that Secretary Alger and Schuyler S. Olds know my statement to be true.

Why did he not deny the truth of certain statements of mine printed in the *News* more than a year ago in answer to the "screech" of Henry M. Rose, the clerk of Senator Burrows' Committee on Revision of the Laws, which never meets, because it has never had any business referred to it? The answer is very easy, for he did not dare make a personal denial, for I had only stated facts mostly shown by public records. Instead of personally denying their truth, he dragged Mr. Mark S. Brewer, of Pontiac, the chief of the Republican "pie-hunters and pie-eaters," and specially known as "Old-Man-Afraid-He-Wont-Get-His-Share-Of-Pie," to answer my letter, and that person—to curry favor with Burrows, as he was then seeking a Government "job"—maundered through two columns to show that I had no business to interfere in the contest for Senator, as I was living in Washington, though he knew that I was a citizen of Michigan with a farm in Kalamazoo county, and had never missed voting at a Presidential or State election since 1864, and also because I was "an ingrate to Mr. Burrows," and a lot of other similar "slop." All I ask is the fair play at the hands of the *Journal* which it concedes is the right of every citizen who claims to have been defamed or injured by a publication in its columns.

HENRY H. SMITH.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 25, 1898.

THE WHISKEY RING INVESTIGATION.

PROPOSED BY REPRESENTATIVE BURROWS IN THE FIFTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

Burrows Abandons His Resolution After Affecting the Market Several Points.

A STOCKJOBPING SPECULATION IN WHICH BURROWS IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN INTERESTED.

He Offers to Let the Newspaper Boys in On the "Ground Floor."

The second session of the Fifty-second Congress convened, after the holiday recess, on January 4, 1893. I was then Acting Register of the Treasury, and had been for several months, owing to the

illness and absence of General Rosecrans, then in California. During the preceding session Representative Julius Cæsar Burrows, on his way to the Capitol, was in the habit of stopping at my office nearly every morning to consult me in regard to parliamentary and legislative questions and proceedings. As Mr. Mark Brewer, of Pontiac, otherwise known as "Man-Afraid-He-Won't-Get-His-Share-Of-Pie," and other Burrows "lickspittles" have charged me with being an "in-grate" to Mr. Burrows, and have recited many things that Mr. Burrows has done for *me*, I will put in evidence at this point the following extracts from a letter as showing some of the important and valuable services which Julius Cæsar Burrows wanted me to render him:

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.,
KALAMAZOO, MICH., Nov. 17th, 1891.

MY DEAR HARRY:

'You're another!' I never said Fassett could carry New York, and if I did I 'lied'! I suspect it was Tom Platt that defeated him. The people generally are getting tired of 'bosses,' and will some fine morning take them on their horns and throw them 'over the garden wall.' All right—that will suit me.

* * * * *

But I write more especially to say that I want you to come to the 'Elsmere' this winter. If your family go away, you might as well stop there as anywhere else, and it will be *so* handy for consultations. Please *do* locate there. Tell Mrs. Rines for me to fix you just as you desire and charge it to me. You *must* come and help me. I 'need you every hour.' Write again soon.

Your friend,

J. C. BURROWS."

Just after the reassembling of that Congress after the holiday recess of 1892-3, Mr. Burrows stopped at my office one morning and asked for a confidential conversation. I was in my own room, and we adjourned to the room of the Register, which I had not occupied. Mr. Burrows then told me that the matter of the enormity of the Whiskey Trust had been brought to his attention by a gentleman entirely familiar with the subject, who had given him some facts, together with a resolution, which he thought of submitting to the House, looking to the investigation of said trust. He then substantially said this:

"I don't know that this will amount to much this session, for the time is short, but it will at least arouse public sentiment and personally will do me great good among the temperance people in Michigan. Besides that, there is a legitimate chance, in my judgment, to make several honest pennies out of it. The introduction of this resolution will necessarily knock the Whiskey Trust stock down several points, and it would not be a bad idea for us to sell such stock as we can handle. *This is strictly confidential, and you mustn't breathe a word of it even to your wife.*"

I laughed and said : " I have no doubt the introduction of such a resolution would depreciate whiskey stock and that money could be made by selling, but I have not the money, and unless you can help me out I do not see how I am to get any benefit out of it." To that he replied : " Don't worry about that. The gentleman who has brought this matter to my attention will take care of us." He then said he wanted to look into the matter more thoroughly, and desired me to come to his house either that or the next night, and talk it over. I called at his house that night and again went over the matter with him.

I there met a Mr. Abraham, the person hereinafter referred to, and another person, introduced as Mr. Simmons, although I became satisfied before I left that that was not his true name. I afterwards met him at Chamberlin's with ex-Representative Phil Thomson, and found that he was a Louisville whiskey man, whose name has escaped me. The matter was talked over fully, and I left these persons closeted with Mr. Burrows, who was "out" to all callers. A day or two afterward, Mr. Burrows called at my office, and said he wanted me to "fix up" his "whiskey resolution." I read the papers he handed me, parts of which were in his own handwriting and the rest typewritten. I read it over and dictated to my stenographer a substitute. I asked Mr. Burrows if I should not cut down the preamble, and he replied : " No; it's a good stump speech." The copy was made, handed to Mr. Burrows, and I retained and still have the original. I paid no further attention to the matter, although Mr. Burrows said to me the next day, " I am waiting for the proper time to put in that resolution. It will be a good thing for us both."

On January 13, 1893, Mr. Burrows introduced the resolution, which was not read in full, but appears at the end of the day's proceeding as " a resolution to investigate the Whiskey Trust," which was referred to the Committee on Rules, of which he was a member. It was substantially as I drew it—a preamble and resolution—the preamble reciting that " the newspapers charge that spirits, high wines and alcohol are used as beverages by the use of adulterants ; that the trust was in a conspiracy with the distillers to that end ; that the adulteration is effected by the use of poisonous drugs, of which fact the retailers and consumers are in ignorance ; that the spirit of the rectifier's law is thus violated ; that the United States revenues are thus defrauded by the diminution of importations ; that the rectifiers are obliged to consume only the product of the trust under heavy penalties ; that the contracts are in restraint of commerce between the States ; the resolution being as follows :

" Therefore resolved, that a select committee of five members of the House be appointed to fully investigate and report upon the subject, and especially what persons are connected with the trust."

On January 28 Mr. McMillin, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following substitute for the Burrows resolution, viz :

"Resolved, That the resolution of Mr. Burrows, respecting the Whiskey Trust, be, and the same is, hereby referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and the same committee is hereby authorized

and empowered to investigate the charges contained in said resolution and report to the House thereon by bill or otherwise. Said committee is also authorized and empowered to investigate what, if any, other trusts or combinations in restraint of trade exist in the United States or have been fostered by Congressional legislation which controls markets or raises prices, and what, if any, additional legislation is necessary to remedy the evils; that said committee have power to send for persons, and to administer oaths, the expenses of this investigation to be paid out of the contingent fund of the House."

There was no debate whatever on the proposition, and on March 1, two days before Congress adjourned, Mr. Bynum, of Indiana, from the Judiciary Committee, submitted a long report. The report recites that it was instructed "to inquire into the character and operations of the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company of the State of Illinois, denominated the whiskey trust, and other trusts or combinations in restraint of trade that may exist within the United States." The report was made by a sub-committee consisting of Mr. Bynum, of Indiana, Mr. Stockdale, of Mississippi, Mr. Boatner, of Louisiana, Mr. Buchanan, of New Jersey, and Mr. Powers, of Vermont, Messrs. Buchanan and Powers being Republicans. The report was an elaborate one and largely technical. It included expert testimony, and in the concluding paragraph appears the following:

"It is therefore evident that none of the methods employed by the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company, either in the methods employed in controlling the production or disposition of their products, are in violation of the laws of the United States.

"The question as to whether Congress can provide any remedy against the combinations of those engaged in the same business so as to prevent competition with each other in the open market is very doubtful.

"The only authority conferred upon Congress which can possibly be invoked is 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the States.' It is clearly settled that the production or manufacture of that which may become a subject of interstate commerce and ultimately pass into protected trade is not commerce, nor can manufactories of any sort be instruments of commerce within the meaning of the Constitution."

The report gave further definition, following a decision of the Supreme Court, of what constituted interstate commerce. The report stated that it was in evidence before the committee that the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company of Illinois produced about 95 per cent. of the alcohol consumed in the United States. This product was not only used in manufactures, the arts and sciences, but was the chief solvent used in the preparation of most if not all remedies used by physicians in the treatment of the sick. This company was able upon the mere report—started by the introduction of the Burrows resolution—that the internal-revenue tax might be increased by Congress to raise the price 25 cents per gallon.

The report also showed the stock-jobbing character of the resolu-

tion, by stating that one Lewis Abraham—to whom I was introduced by Mr. Burrows at his room at the Elsmere—was a lawyer in the city of Washington well versed in the tariff and internal-revenue laws. The committee say :

" Possessing considerable knowledge of the deleterious qualities of the oils and essences used in compounding whiskies, he testified that some of them were poisonous. Upon inquiry the committee ascertained that he was the same attorney who appeared before the Finance Committee as the representative of the manufacturers of these oils and essences, and made an argument in favor of prohibitory duties on such articles upon the ground that they were poisonous and were used only in the adulteration of liquors. This plea for the protection of the American people against the importation of poisonous adulterants no doubt had great weight."

The committee indorsed the recommendation of the Acting Commissioner of Internal Revenue as to marking the packages and goods of this company so that customers would know exactly what they were purchasing, and concluded by saying that time was not sufficient in which to undertake the investigation of other alleged combinations or trusts—none of which were pointed out by Mr. Burrows—on account of the very short time remaining of the session. The committee concluded their report by saying that the recommendation as to the Distilling and Cattle Feeding Company would prove equally efficacious if applied to the products of other trusts, and it recommended that in the revision of tariff rates the very lowest duties consistent with necessary revenue be fixed upon all articles which have or may become the subjects of combinations.

The report was unanimous with one exception, Mr. Ray, of New York, who put in a brief criticism of a portion of it. Messrs. Buchanan, of New Jersey, and Broderick, of Kansas, put in a ten-line remark that they did not concur "in so much of the report as refers to and denounces the effect of tariff legislation."

The investigation was an expensive one, costing several thousand dollars and ending in smoke. Mr. Burrows, however, had accomplished his purpose. Immediately following the presentation of his resolution the price of whiskey went down several points, and Mr. Burrows, with several other members of Congress and persons cognizant of the resolution, sold a large number of shares of the stock of this company, realizing thereby a handsome profit, according to the amount of shares sold and again buying at the lowest notch and making another profit when whiskey resumed its normal value.

From the leading Washington stock-brokers firm I have obtained the highest and lowest prices on the day preceding the introduction of Mr. Burrows' resolution and for four days following, viz :

	High.	Low.
Thursday, January 12, 1893	$58\frac{1}{8}$	$60\frac{1}{8}$
Friday, January 13, 1893.....	58	$60\frac{1}{8}$
Saturday, January 14, 1893.....	$52\frac{3}{4}$	53
Monday, January 16, 1893	$53\frac{1}{2}$	$57\frac{1}{2}$
Tuesday, January 17, 1893.....	$56\frac{1}{8}$	$58\frac{1}{2}$
Wednesday, January 18, 1893.....	$57\frac{3}{8}$	$58\frac{1}{8}$

Mr. Burrows' resolution accomplished its purpose of knocking down the stock 8 points, on which he and his associates realized handsomely, and then on the following day when it reached 52 $\frac{1}{4}$ they bought heavily, thus "catching the coon coming and gwine." It was one of the rankest and rottenest stock-jobbing performances of this kind I ever saw, and I have seen many in my 30 years' connection with Congress. The Washington correspondents of the leading newspapers of the country never trusted Burrows and one of them—quoted elsewhere by the *News'* Washington correspondent (Mr. Miller)—stated that he had "never had any confidence in Mr. Burrows since." And there are others!

In order to bother the "Columbian Orator"—whose close-fisted and penurious habits and character are well known—I spoke to him shortly afterwards about my share of the profits growing out of the "whiskey-ring investigation" resolution. He made the excuse that he was "tied up in another speculation," but would "see me soon." I frequently, as a joke, called on him for my share, but it was always the "same old lie." So distrusted was Mr. Burrows that many to whom he confided his scheme refused to invest.

Lest Mr. Burrows and "Friday" Rose make answer that this is merely "one of Harry Smith's lies," I will narrate the following incident: On Thursday evening, September 15 last, while walking up 15th street, in this city, with Mr. Charles Roman, of the New York *World*, I was halted at the Riggs House by the veteran correspondent, William B. Shaw, who is familiarly called "Nestor Shaw," having been a Washington correspondent before the civil war. A group of gentlemen were sitting on the corner of G and 15th streets chatting, among them being Mr. Walter E. Adams, Washington correspondent for many years of the Boston *Herald*, Mr. J. H. McBlair, photographer of the Treasury Department, and other gentlemen well known in Washington. As Shaw had told me that Burrows offered to "let him in on the ground floor" in the matter of his whiskey-ring investigation resolution stock-jobbing scheme, but that he knew Burrows was tricky and dishonest, he did not go in, which he regretted as the "boys cleaned up a good many thousand dollars on the scheme," I brought up the subject and Shaw told the whole story in its minutest details, giving the names of Burrows' associates, and also narrating other schemes in which Burrows had been interested, among others, the sugar-stock speculations of 1894. "It was a lucky thing," said Shaw, "for many members of the House that John DeWitt Warner, of New York, and a New Jersey member claimed their privileges as members of the House and refused to testify, as otherwise some 50 or 60 Representatives (Burrows included) would have been caught, unless they had lied out of the matter as many Senators did. Burrows is still dabbling in stocks, and occasionally gets caught, and then he 'squeals like a stuck pig,' and wants somebody to help him out on some new deal."

I took particular pains to get a list of the names of the eleven gentlemen composing the group and I will be only too happy to place them at the disposal of any committee of investigation which

the Michigan legislature may appoint at the request of Senator Julius Caesar Burrows.

In further illustration of Mr. Burrows' stock-jobbing habits and proclivities, I will mention the fact that he induced several Washington gentlemen to invest in the Centennial Mine in the Upper Peninsula. Upon learning that the mine was not likely to pan out as he had expected, he made a personal inspection of the mine, or caused it to be made, and privately sold out his own stock at what it cost him, leaving in the lurch his Washington friends—one an ex-member of Congress from Michigan—who were stuck to the tune of several thousand dollars. I will also state the fact that, during the pendency of the Dingley bill, and while the conference committee were considering the disagreements between the two houses, and the sugar schedule was up, Mr. Burrows was, according to reliable reports from persons who had superior means of knowing the facts, buying and selling sugar stocks, as the situation seemed to require. I was told by one of the leading stock-brokers in Washington, who had got on the wrong side of the market, that he obtained his information directly from a Senate conferee, saying, "You know the man very well, or at least *used to*." As I have only known Mr. Burrows by sight since November 15, 1894, I took it for granted, as I was justified in doing, that the Senate conferee to whom he referred was the Hon. Julius Caesar Burrows, of Kalamazoo, who, for the last fifteen years to my personal knowledge, has been a regular and steady buyer or seller, as the case might favor, of stocks whose value depended upon legislation by Congress.

BURROWS' FRIEND LOBBYIST "NAT" MCKAY PUT OFF SENATE FLOOR IN CLOSING HOURS OF FORTY- FIRST CONGRESS BY "OLD ZACK" CHANDLER.

"OLD ZACK" DENOUNCED THE IRON-CLAD CLAIMS AS ROTTEN JOBS AND MCKAY AS A "FRESH" LOBBYIST.

In the closing hours of the Forty-first Congress Senator Nye, of Nevada, persistently attempted to get through the Senate a bill for the relief of the so-called "Iron-clad Contractors" improperly reported by him from the Committee on Naval Affairs, and was as often defeated by the objections of Senators Edmunds, Morrill, Trumbull, Chandler, and others. Just before daylight he made a sly attempt to sneak the bill through the Senate when less than a dozen Senators were on the floor. But "Old Zack" was on guard and objected. Julius Caesar Burrows' friend "Nat" McKay sneaked in from the

lobby and crept along to Chandler's desk and begged him to withdraw his objection, saying that some of his (Chandler's) friends were interested in the bill, which was an omnibus bill. "No," thundered "Old Zack," in tones which roused the sleepers on the floor and in the galleries. "No friend of mine is interested in this d—d job. Get out of here or I will have you thrown out." McKay retreated in great haste, and from that hour until Mr. Chandler's death never hesitated to curse and denounce him. McKay told, with great gusto, once of his drinking a glass of wine to this toast, proposed by himself, when the news came of Senator Chandler's sudden death in Chicago: "Here's hoping that 'Old Zack' Chandler will roast in hell until the crack of doom."

It's a long way from Zachariah Chandler to Julius Caesar Burrows, and for that matter a good long distance down!

TEN-MILLION-DOLLAR CLAIM BILL PENDING IN CONFERENCE.

LOBBYIST "NAT" MCKAY AND HIS ATTORNEY INTERESTED TO EXTENT OF NEARLY ONE MILLION DOLLARS.—ADDITIONAL CLAIM OF \$61,000 FOR REPRESENTATIVES OF JOHN ROACH.—MCKAY'S FEES FIFTY PER CENT. IN ALL CASES.

Why "Nat" Wants Burrows Re-elected to the Senate.

There is now pending in conference House bill 4936, for the allowance of certain claims for stores and supplies, reported by Court of Claims under provisions of act approved March 3, 1883, known as the Bowman act, and for other purposes. This bill, as it originally passed the House, was limited strictly to claims as stated in the title of the act. The Senate Committee on Claims procured the insertion of an item in the deficiency bill for the first session of the present Congress authorizing the preparation of a schedule of all claims which had passed the Senate for insertion in what is known as an omnibus bill. The list was made and reported to the Senate, and the great bulk of these claims are doubtless just and proper. Among them, however, are many claims which should go out, or at least be recommitted to the committee for further examination. The Committee on Claims reported a substitute, in which was included the Bowman-act claims as passed the House, and other items as follows:

In section 2, under head of supplemental Bowman and rent cases, were included many items heretofore rejected by Congress.

Under head of miscellaneous Court of Claims findings there appears in section 3 an award to Charles F. Choteau, as survivor of Choteau, Harrison, and Valle, of St. Louis, etc., for extra cost of construction of iron-clad steam battery Etlah in 1864, the sum of \$174,445, awarded by the Court of Claims. This case once passed the Court of Claims, was appealed to the Supreme Court and reversed, and by this appropriation, it is stated, Congress proposes to reverse the decision of the Supreme Court. It is stated that McKay, who has all of what are known as the iron-clad cases, is attorney for this, with a fee of fifty per cent., though he is not a lawyer.

Section 4 is added, embracing a long list of French spoliation claims.

Section 5 embraces items "under contracts of the Navy Department" for construction of double-ender Otsego in 1862-3.

Under head of "Selfridge Board Findings" are allowances as follows:

To legal representatives of John Roach, \$62,000, in excess of contract price, etc., for construction of double-ender Peoria; to Portland Company, Maine, \$80,800 for double-ender gunboats Agawan and Pontoosuc; to administrator of the estate of George W. Lawrence, \$17,000 for material for work done on same vessels; to George W. Quintard, of New York, \$85,000 for United States iron-clad Ondaga; to Thomas F. Rowland, \$82,000 for double-ender Mucoota.

Lobbyist "Nat" McKay is attorney for these claims, with a fifty per cent. fee, though not a lawyer.

Then comes section 6, with a long list of appropriations for churches and schools in the South. Then come a few items for State claims, to California, Oregon, and Nevada of \$4,600,000; also a payment to Florida.

Then comes section 8, miscellaneous claims, a sort of catch-all for odds and ends, including an item of \$5,000 to Emile M. Blum, which correspondent William Elleroy Curtis tried to stop unless Blum would pay him (Curtis) a certain sum of money, as elsewhere stated. Then come Pinte Indian claims; claims for refund of internal-revenue taxes on account of private dies; Utah claims, Treasury settlements, Spanish-American Commission, together with a lot of miscellaneous claims which have passed one or the other house of Congress since the close of the Civil War.

Many of these claims of which lobbyist "Nat" McKay is attorney, with a commission of fifty per cent., were reported by Julius Caesar Burrows, from the Committee on Claims. It stands as a matter of course that all claims reported by Burrows in which McKay is interested need re-examination, and there has been much scandal growing out of the Methodist Church claim, where an attorney got a fee of \$100,000 out of \$288,000, and the enormous fee of fifty per cent. received by McKay out of the Roach claims passed at the last session, so that it is feared that the entire bill will fail, thus doing great injustice to nine-tenths of the honest and meritorious claims embodied in this bill. All this scandal has been

brought by the shameful conduct of lobbyist "Nat" McKay, whose open and unblushing corrupt conduct and practices have been a reproach upon Congress for some time past. This man McKay is constantly hanging about the corridors of committee rooms of both houses, calling out members whom he entertains as his guests, asking them to look after this or that matter for him, and then openly boasts of his influence and power to make his guests do his bidding. He has not only openly boasted of bribing Congressmen, but had the unblushing effrontery to state at one of his "banquets" that his bill passed through the Fifty-first Congress, though appropriating \$115,000 by the judgment of the Court of Claims, really netted him but \$44,000, the rest being paid to get it reported and passed through the House, where, he said, he paid every Democrat who voted for it but one, and that person was present. McKay further said, on the same occasion, that he had to pay a few Republican brethren their campaign expenses, as well as "grease the ways" of the bill through the Court of Claims and Navy Department.

It is more than likely that there will be an investigation ordered by the Senate after it reassembles in January, and some very unsavory scandals are threatened which will put an extinguisher on lobbyist "Nat" McKay.

LOBBYIST "NAT" MCKAY ATTEMPTS TO BRIBE HON. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, OF PENNSYLVANIA, THE APOSTLE OF HIGH PROTECTION, AND IS EXPOSED ON THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA- TIVES IN 1880.

IS ALSO EJECTED FROM JUDGE KELLEY'S LODGINGS.—"NAT" WAS
THEN A DEMERARA SUGAR LOBBYIST.

On Thursday, March 11, 1880 (2d sess. 46th Cong.), the Honorable William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, better known as "Pig-Iron Kelley," the great apostle and champion of the high protective policy, rose to a question of personal privilege in the House, and had read a special dispatch from Washington to the *Evening Bulletin* of Philadelphia of the previous day. The dispatch stated that Judge Kelley "was on the war-path yesterday looking for somebody to wreak his vengeance upon, all in consequence of a paragraph in the *Bulletin* a few days ago, about a conversation between himself and a lobbyist by the name of 'Nat' McKay, on the subject of sugar." The dispatch went on to relate some details, mostly of an unimportant character, stating "that McKay went into the Ways

and Means Committee room and was pounced upon by Judge Kelley," "who," said a member of the committee who witnessed the affair, "made things lively for McKay, and I certainly thought he intended to attack him," saying, among other things, "that Kelley told McKay that he never wanted to talk with him again on the sugar or any other question."

The dispatch was read in full, and a point of order was made by a Missouri member that it must first be decided that the subject was privileged. Thereupon the following debate occurred:

"MR. KELLEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to state to this House that, at the end of nineteen years, I have been corruptly approached for the purpose of controlling my vote in the Committee on Ways and Means and the House.

"THE SPEAKER. That clearly comes within the scope of the rule.

"MR. KELLEY. If that does not relate to the dignity and honor of the House and the purity of legislation, I do not know what does.

"THE SPEAKER. The Chair thinks it does.

"MR. KELLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have been here too long to take note of criticisms upon my temper, my person, or my manners. But when one to whom I have given my confidence, to whom I am grateful for having rushed to my relief when struggling with a hemorrhage, which I believed was to produce instant death, BECOMES THE WITNESS OF HIS OWN INFAMY, I thus seek the defense of publicity.

"None of the sugar dealers of Philadelphia, whether it be S. & W. Welsh, the great importers, Field Brothers, the commission merchants, E. C. Knight & Co., Harrison & Havemeyer, B. H. Bartol & Son, or any of the respectable—and some of them very distinguished—men engaged in any branch of the sugar business, complain that I have not answered their letters or given patient hearing to their suggestions. A dispatch has just been handed me by my colleague (Mr. Ward), received since I came upon the floor, from the Messrs. Field, asking him to confer with me and urging us to stand firm in the position we have maintained.

"No such scene as is described in what has been read from the desk occurred in the committee-room in the presence of any member of that committee. Colonel Jones (the clerk) and I being there, MR. MCKAY ENTERED AND I HASTENED TO TELL HIM THAT I WOULD KICK, AS I WOULD A DOG, THE MAN THAT APPROACHED ME WITH CORRUPT INFLUENCES SUCH AS HE WAS STIMULATING. The grocery trade and the sugar trade have been in the fullest and freest correspondence with me since we considered the tariff of 1870, when I was, as now, a member of the Committee on Ways and Means. THIS MAN MCKAY, AFTER FURTIVELY PUTTING BEFORE ME CORRUPT MOTIVES, NOT SO PLAINLY AS TO JUSTIFY ME IN STRIKING HIM, BUT DISTINCTLY ENOUGH FOR ME TO COMPREHEND HIM, DISCLOSED THE FACT THAT LARGE AND PROFITABLE CONTRACTS WITH HIM FOR RAILROADS AND FOR PUBLIC BUILDINGS, ALL OF WHICH WOULD GO INTO PHILADELPHIA AND MOST OF THEM INTO MY DISTRICT, DEPENDED UPON THE ADMISSION OF HIGH-GRADE DEMERARA SUGARS AT LOW RATES OF DUTY, my response to all of which was that I did not care about the trade of Demerara or those contracts.

"**T**HUS REPULSED HE PROCEEDED TO SEEK THE OFFICERS OF THE CONVENTION THAT LAST RENOMINATED ME, AND INDUCE THEM AND OTHER MEN OF LESS NOTE TO WRITE ME REPEATING HIS SUGGESTIONS. A small number of such letters came from men who can probably distinguish sugar from salt by sight, but who probably require to taste them if they be of equal grain and whiteness; men who are in no wise connected with the sugar trade except as their wives may buy at retail for the use of their families; NOR WERE THEY MEN ENGAGED IN THE IRON TRADE; THEY WERE MERE POLITICIANS; YET THIS MAN ASKED THEM TO INSTRUCT ME TO VOTE ON THE SUGAR BILL IN A PARTICULAR WAY UNDER THE PENALTY OF POLITICAL PUNISHMENT.

"And beyond this, sir, another member of the audacious Demerara and Cuban lobby having been seated at the table at which my colleagues, Mr. O'Neill, Mr. Ward, and I habitually dine, and while conversation on general topics went on between us, obtruded himself into it in order to tell me that I was acting in disregard of the sentiment of my people; and when I repulsed him properly, made it fitting that I should say to him that I had always found myself able to take care of myself, and if he attempted in any way to execute his intimation he would find that though more than sixty years had passed over my head, I was still able to take care of myself. [Applause.]

"Sir, permit me to say in conclusion, that I have no fault to find with the paper that published that dispatch, nor with the reporter who sent it. I admit that my temper was raised to a tempestuous degree by the audacity of this man McKay, who knew that for years I had believed that he had probably saved my life. YET I WOULD HAVE KEPT HIS INFAMOUS SECRET HAD HE NOT THUS PROCLAIMED IT. I blame not the reporter or the paper for giving credence to a man who, for so many years, enjoyed my own confidence."

McKay attempted to bring about a reconciliation with Judge Kelley, but that gentleman sternly refused to even speak with him, and when McKay brazenly attempted to enter Mr. Kelley's room on 14th street with a party of Philadelphia friends, he was ordered out by Judge Kelley. It is needless to say that the Demerara sugar "job" failed to become a law.

Federal Office-Holding Interference.

SENATOR WOLCOTT'S VIGOROUS SPEECH.

On Wednesday, June 8, 1892, the Tenth Republican National Convention was in session at Minneapolis. The subject before the convention was the report of the Committee on Credentials. Bitter

complaint had been made of the fact that hundreds of federal office-holders throughout the South and elsewhere were delegates to the convention and were active, as well as solid, in support of the re-nomination of Benjamin Harrison for President, whose election was predicted by the veteran Republican leaders to be impossible. Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, in a speech on a contested case from Kentucky, was aroused by taunts of the federal office-holding delegates, and said :

"I hold in my hand, Mr. Chairman, a list of one hundred and thirty odd office-holders who are delegates to this convention, nine-tenths of whom live in States where there is a hopeless Democratic majority. The trouble in this committee as to these delegates comes not alone from these men, but it comes from a pressure of between two and three thousand Government office-holders, who swarm the corridors of the hotels and fill these galleries and haunt the delegates, who ought to be in Washington and elsewhere attending to their respective offices. We who are Republicans from Republican States would like to have a little voice in naming the candidate for the Presidency. Possibly these office-holders may name him, but I do not believe it. But we from Republican States do ask the office-holding contingent, who are bringing a solid South against us, to at least conduct their side of the case in common decency and common honor, so that we won't be ashamed to vote the ticket." (Prolonged applause and cheers.)

The nomination of Benjamin Harrison was forced upon the Republican party by office-holding delegates from the "solid South," as will be shown by the statement that he received 15 votes from Alabama, 15 from Kentucky, 8 from Florida, 26 from Georgia, 22 from Kentucky, 8 from Louisiana, 14 from Maryland, $13\frac{1}{2}$ from Mississippi, 28 from Missouri, $17\frac{2}{3}$ from North Carolina, 13 from South Carolina, 17 from Tennessee, 22 from Texas, 9 from Virginia, 12 from West Virginia, and 22 votes from the Territories, 259 in all, while Mr. Blaine received $182\frac{1}{6}$ and Governor McKinley 182, or 364, or 88 votes more than President Harrison, excluding votes from Democratic States.

This matter is cited to show what results from packing a convention with federal office-holders, who owe their bread and butter primarily to the President and secondly to the Senators from their respective States. Under the present system of Senatorial courtesy no man can be appointed to an office of any importance in any State without the approval of the Senators from that State, and this is sometimes carried so far as to require the approval of the Democratic Senators. If he be *persona non grata* to the Democratic Senators, the nominee is often rejected. If there be justification for the interference of federal office-holders in dictating to and running conventions, it might be a national convention; but with what propriety can it be claimed by even the most bitter partisan of Julius Caesar Burrows that it is any part of the duty or function of a Michigan federal office-holder to interfere with or "run" the politics of the State, Congressional or county conventions, and

especially to dictate and control the nominations for the State legislature?

Collector John T. Rich was present at that convention, and we sat at the same table at a private house. We talked about this very subject, and he was as bitter and indignant as I, and he applauded the speech of Senator Wolcott to the echo. I was the parliamentary secretary of that convention, though Acting Register of the Treasury. I had been requested by the National Committee to attend for the purpose of assisting the temporary and permanent chairman of the convention, and I did so; but I was as thoroughly disgusted as Senator Wolcott himself. There were two delegates from Tennessee and one from Georgia who were clerks in my office, and they were active in their canvass and support of the renomination of President Harrison, though there was not the slightest hope of his receiving the electoral vote of either Tennessee or Georgia. When I remonstrated with them about it and urged them to vote for McKinley, they said: "It would cost us our places, and that is the case in all the Southern States where federal office-holders are delegates."

It is quite time that the people of Michigan commenced thinking about what federal office-holding interference with State, Congressional district, county and city conventions means, finally reaching up to the selection of members of the legislature itself, whose duty it is to elect United States Senators to whom this federal office-holding crowd owe their "bread and butter."

BURROWS' ATTEMPT TO BREAK INTO THE FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

General William L. Stoughton, of Sturgis, was the Representative in this Congress from the Fourth Congressional District of Michigan, comprising the counties of Berrien, Cass, Kalamazoo, St. Joseph, and Van Buren. He was a gallant and distinguished soldier during the War of the Rebellion, as will appear by reference to the official volume compiled by Adjutant General Robertson, "Michigan in the War."

General Stoughton was not willing to agree to the demands of some ambitious and unscrupulous politicians in the district, notably in the village of Kalamazoo, for certain offices, and they sought to compass his defeat. He had served with credit—if not distinction—during the first and second sessions of the Forty-first Congress, on the Committee on Military Affairs, and was fairly and properly entitled to a renomination under the well-established rule prevailing in the Republican party, of giving to its Governor, State officials,

and Representatives in Congress a renomination, except where special conditions and reasons existed to prevent.

Julius Cæsar Burrows went into the army in 1862, as captain in the 17th Michigan Infantry, and resigned in — 1864, with a trifle over a year's service to his credit, having been home once on furlough during that period. When Captain Burrows was elected to Congress in 1872, and many members of his company and regiment who knew his army record were his constituents, he made no boast of it in his campaign, and in the biographical sketch furnished the compiler of the Congressional Record for the 43d Congress made no reference whatever to his army service. When he again entered Congress (46th), after being defeated for election to the 44th Congress by Allen Potter, and for renomination to the 45th Congress by Judge Keightley—whom he defeated for renomination for a second term—he again omitted all reference to his army record, and it was not until the 47th Congress that he ventured to insert in the Record the statement that "in 1862 (no date given) entered the Union army, in the 17th Michigan Infantry, and participated in (certain named) battles (?) "Returning from the army" (no date given) this fiery "bloody-shirt" orator says he "*resumed* the practice of law." "Resumed" is good! When I was editor and part owner of the Kalamazoo *Telegraph*, in 1870-1, it was a common rumor that Captain Burrows got very badly scared one day, turned his company over to Lieutenant Logan, of Richland, made a break for the surgeon's tent, lost his way and was found after sundown by the guard searching for stragglers, under shelter of a rock with a severe case of "belly-ache."

There are scores of old citizens of Kalamazoo who know of the story, and if it were worth while, I could hunt up a private in his company now living in Kalamazoo county and get the particulars, as he stated them publicly on the street. Perhaps this and his treatment of Private Alva White, of St. Joseph county, in 1865-'66, which was fully exposed by Nathaniel H. Stewart, a leading lawyer of Kalamazoo, and the local attorney of the Michigan Central R.R., which is briefly stated elsewhere, together with withholding \$440 per annum for over three years from the salary of Alfred Pew, of Grand Rapids, the messenger of his committee, to be used by Mr. Burrows' committee clerk, Henry M. Rose, in entertaining Michigan guests of Senator Burrows at the Senate restaurant, may have had something to do with this suppression of his "splendid military record," about which some lick-spittle members vaunted in the caucus of January, 1895. (?) Some of these creatures will feel cheap when they read the truth about Burrows' "army record." If there had been anything to brag about, the "Columbian Orator" would have had it all in. When he broke into the Forty-ninth Congress, in 1884, he fixed up this brief sentence: "Was an officer in the Union army, 1862-1864," and let it go at that. That might mean that he went in January 1, 1862, and retired on account of disability on December 31, 1864. When it is known that his commanding officer wrote Governor Blair, saying that there was not the

slightest objection on his part to Captain Burrows' resignation, "as his efficiency as an officer in that regiment was ended," he probably knew the facts better than did the Lansing "lick-spittles" of January, 1895, and when ex-Governor Blair said in a speech at Battle Creek in September, 1872, that "Captain Burrows' fiery 'bloody-shirt' speeches were accounted for by the fact that Captain Burrows went into the army late and came out early, and probably did not know the war was over," he knew better about the "Orator's" record than did the aforesaid Lansing persons. In response to the request of Mr. Woolnough to give Burrows' army record, Governor Blair answered: "No; I am not here fighting chipmunks, but to talk about Horace Greeley." The last edition of the Record still contains the phrase, "Was an officer in the Union army, 1862-1864." No date of entry or exit. This perfectly illustrates his character, and there are thousands of citizens of Michigan who really believe that Julius Cæsar Burrows has a "grand military record," as that eminent "gusher" of the Detroit *Journal*, Mr. "Yusef," has so often written. I have not much of an army career myself, but I will match it against that of Captain "Bobadil" Burrows.

Among the aspirants for the position of Postmaster in Kalamazoo was Henry G. Gale, a prominent business man. General Stoughton refused to promise him the appointment of Postmaster either for himself or for a person he should name. He thereupon set about securing General Stoughton's defeat for renomination, and put forward Captain Julius Cæsar Burrows as his candidate against the General. An organization was perfected in Kalamazoo county, with ramifications in other counties of the district, the organ of Captain Burrows being the Paw Paw *True Northerner*, then edited by "Tom Ward." Charges were made in the *True Northerner* and circulated throughout the district that General Stoughton had sold offices for money and had offered to sell others, together with other charges affecting his personal and official integrity. The district was scoured by this combine and some headway was made against General Stoughton, who maintained a dignified, though indignant, silence. No charge affecting his personal or official integrity had ever before been made, or even whispered, and he scorned to notice these charges as well as an affidavit made by one R. C. Nash, who swore that General Stoughton had promised to appoint him to an office upon the payment of a certain sum of money.

The Kalamazoo *Telegraph* editorially charged that Julius Cæsar Burrows and his friends, Messrs. Gale, Ward, Angier, and others, were the authors of or had inspired these charges and affidavits against General Stoughton, and in its issue of August 3, 1870, the *Telegraph* published a letter exposing the character of Nash, in which it was shown that Nash had served three years in the state prison, and was, in the language of the Superintendent of Police of Washington, D. C., "a scoundrel of the worst kind, unworthy of belief, and ready to resort to any means to obtain money," and that "he is one of the worst villains at large in the country." In numer-

ous issues it charged Julius Caesar Burrows and his friends, Gale and Nash, with attempting to "defame a valiant soldier," with employing "such miscreants as Nash—'a state's prison bird'—to compass their nefarious purposes." On the 17th day of August, 1870, the *Telegraph* published the following editorial appeal:

"*To the Republicans of Kalamazoo County :*

"A very shameful thing has been done by those who call themselves Republicans but who dishonor the name. We have a Representative in Congress with whom the people are well pleased, because he is honorable and reliable as a politician and statesman, as he has already been as a soldier and an officer in the Federal army. But some men who wanted office did not get it at his hands, and they have vowed to ruin him. There is no just cause of complaint against Mr. Stoughton, and none has been preferred. The grievances are all private, and the affidavits that have been circulated are slanderous and false. They have been proved to be so, and yet they work on in this county, asking you to vote for Mr. Julius C. Burrows! Some of them acknowledge that they don't care a fig for the young man Burrows, but anything to kill off Mr. Stoughton with. We are sorry to learn that Captain Burrows is at work in this matter just as busy as Ward, Angier and Gale, and he knows just as well as they do what they have accomplished by means of false affidavits, and by deceiving the people with false issues. This whole crusade has been the most shameful one that ever disgraced the Republican party. Indeed, one of the papers in their interest is in Democratic ownership, and several of the active runners here with Mr. Burrows are those who have twice thrown the election into the hands of the Democrats of Kalamazoo. Will the voters in the several townships turn out at the caucus, and send such delegates to the county convention as love truth, and political honesty, and will vote for the renomination of Mr. Stoughton? Do not be careless, and let a few ambitious demagogues get the mastery of you. Save the honor of the Republican warrior."

Dr. J. A. B. Stone was then the principal proprietor of the *Telegraph*. On the 20th day of August, 1870, there was a gathering of the leading Republican citizens of Kalamazoo, called at the request of Hezekiah G. Wells, to take such action as might be deemed proper to defend General Stoughton from the malicious and untruthful charges concocted, printed and circulated by Captain Julius C. Burrows and his office-seeking friends. That meeting was held in the editorial sanctum of the *Telegraph*, and the following paper, mainly prepared by Gen. Dwight May and Dr. Stone, was finally agreed upon as representing the views and opinions of the gentlemen present. It was printed by Dr. Stone in the *Telegraph*'s job printing office, and widely circulated through Kalamazoo county; said circular being as follows:

"*To the Republican voters of Kalamazoo County :*

"GENTLEMEN: Disappointed office-seekers and men of petty ambition have undertaken to destroy your confidence in your gallant

Representative in Congress, Gen. William L. Stoughton. In this they have been unscrupulous. They have forged affidavits to prove that he sold offices for money. They have circulated them privately, and read them to men at midnight, to prejudice them against Mr. Stoughton. They have done this when they knew there was no truth in their libelous charges, and only to gratify their own petty malice. When these affidavits came to the light they were disapproved and Mr. Stoughton vindicated. But they still pursue him, and pretend they have other things to expose, but do not tell us what. They can forge more of the same sort.

"Among those who are active in this conspiracy is Julius C. Burrows, of Kalamazoo. He wants to destroy Mr. Stoughton so that he can wear his shoes. He is after an office we do not think he deserves. In 1868 Mr. Burrows wanted something besides eight dollars a day for lecturing in the last campaign, and begged for an office. In December, 1868, he was appointed Supervisor of Revenue, and told to come to Washington and get instructions. He did not go; said he would not have the office, would not accept it; told his friends so. In March, 1869, he went to Washington to get the office of District Attorney. Told those he went with he would not accept the other office; told the delegation in Washington so, but told them he came for the District Attorneyship. Mr. Stoughton and others put matters in train for this; that is, made application for him and he came home. But first he went and made this

Affidavit.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,
WASHINGTON, *March 11, 1869.*

U. S. Int. Rev. Office.

To Julius C. Burrows, Dr.
Supervisor.

To salary from March 1st to 10th, inclusive, at \$2,500 per year.....	\$69 44
Tax	2 08

	\$67 36

March 1, 1869, railroad fare from Kalamazoo to Washingt ton	28 30
Sleeping car two nights at \$1.50.....	3 00
Meals on three days at \$2.25.....	6 75
Room rent from 4th to 11th of March.....	15 00
Meals	11 60

\$132 01

Received payment,
(Signed) JULIUS C. BURROWS.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, }
 County of Washington, } ss:

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 11th day of March, 1869.
 (Signed) T. J. GARDNER,
 J. P.

I certify this to be a true copy.

(Signed) J. W. DOUGLASS,
Acting Comm'r Internal Revenue.

"This matter leaked out. The Department divulged the contents of the affidavit, and it created an excitement. Some of the Michigan delegation took their names off the application, and Attorney-General E. Rockwood Hoar said: 'We don't want such a man for District Attorney.' Another man was appointed.

"Do we want such a man in Congress? But some of his friends say he was ordered to Washington! Yes, when he was appointed early in December, 1868. But he did not accept and enter upon his office. In March, 1869, he went to Washington for another purpose, and while there made this affidavit and took the money. Was it right? What services did he perform that he should thrust his hand into the United States Treasury?

"Republican voters, this is a conspiracy got up by soreheads and ambitious office-seekers to ruin Gen. Stoughton. It is a plot against the Republican party, and the Democrats are pleased with the movement. They are not likely to be pleased with anything which does not injure us. If Mr. Stoughton is not the choice of the party, Mr. Burrows has no chance of succeeding him. There are too many older and abler men who will not take money for services never rendered, and who would do honor to the place. But we have confidence in the people; they have found Mr. Stoughton honest, able, and faithful, and will not disgrace the party by putting him aside for a self-nominated candidate whom they owe nothing but advice to wait until he is called.

"TRUE REPUBLICANS."

Ten days later Captain Julius C. Burrows published a card repudiating Nash, and issued a circular letter defending his acceptance of the \$132.01, partly on the ground that the Department of Justice was willing to pay him that amount, and partly because he intended and really meant to do something for the money he had received. To this the *Telegraph* responded, repeating and reiterating its charges in no less than four different issues. In its issue of August 18, 1870, it editorially asserted that Captain Burrows had told one of its editors that he did not want the office of Supervisor; that he would not have it; "that there was not money enough in it for him, and it was no use to talk about it, etc.;" and that Mr. Burrows went to Washington to get another office, to wit, that of District Attorney for the Western District of Michigan. In that editorial the *Telegraph* asserted that Captain Burrows was in "bad

company—in a band of the most vindictive and unscrupulous politicians scraped together from the whole district." In the same issue, it again asserted that Captain Burrows had "circulated false charges and affidavits against General Stoughton;" that he "was still circulating them—getting up new ones every day," and it appealed most earnestly to the Republicans of Kalamazoo county to defeat him for the nomination as representative.

Those charges were made at the time when the circumstances and facts were fresh in the minds and knowledge of the leading Republicans of Kalamazoo county, as well as of the Fourth Congressional District. They were never withdrawn by the *Telegraph*, or in any way modified. If they were true then, they remain true. If it was necessary then to defeat Julius Caesar Burrows to save the character and honor of General Stoughton and prevent an unfit man from getting to Congress from the Fourth Congressional District, is it not equally necessary now, when more serious charges affecting his integrity and honesty—political and personal—have been made that the election of Julius C. Burrows for a full term in the United States Senate as his own successor should be prevented? It should be remembered that these charges were not gotten up by the political enemies of Captain Burrows toward the close of a campaign, simply to influence votes, but they were charges made by members of his own political faith and published editorially by the Kalamazoo *Telegraph*, then, as now, the leading Republican paper in western Michigan.

Mr. Burrows was well aware of the unwritten law controlling all political parties that a representative in Congress, who served one term satisfactorily, was entitled to renomination for a second term without a contest in his own party, unless he has misrepresented his district and State or misconducted himself in other regards. No representative from Michigan in any other district, who desired a renomination had the slightest contest. This fact and the existence of the second term rule referred to was brought to Mr. Burrows' attention by the late Judge Wells. The Judge labored earnestly with him to convince Mr. Burrows that he was making a serious mistake; that he was a young man and could well afford to wait and bide his time. To these appeals, as well as others, Mr. Burrows turned a deaf ear. "I have as good a right," said Mr. Burrows, "to make a contest for this nomination as Gen. Stoughton has to seek a renomination. Grave charges against him have been made by reputable men and in the face and teeth of these charges he has no right to ask a vindication at the hands of the Republican convention in this district until he has completely exonerated himself." To the reply of Judge Wells that any scoundrel or state-prison bird could get up charges against him (Burrows) after he had had one term, Mr. Burrows replied, "No such charges could or ever would be brought against me, and I insist that until Gen. Stoughton's skirts are cleared any man has a right to make a contest against him."

Mr. Burrows again sought the nomination for the Forty-fifth Con-

gress, but was defeated by Judge Keightley, of Van Buren county. Mr. Burrows pleaded in vain for a vindication. Mr. Potter had declined to be a candidate for the Forty-fifth Congress, and Mr. Burrows believed he could be elected. The Republican leaders of the district, representing every county, gathered in conference before the convention, and unanimously decided that Mr. Burrows should not be nominated, as Mr. Potter would again make the contest and defeat him for the Forty-fifth Congress.

As a result of that conference, Mr. Burrows was notified that if by any trickery or chicanery he procured the nomination, these men, their friends and followers, would again join in the support of Mr. Potter. When Judge Keightley became a candidate for nomination to the Forty-sixth Congress, Mr. Burrows again announced his candidacy; and, having used the entire period since Judge Keightley's first election in assailing and vilifying him, succeeded in undermining Mr. Keightley and defeated him. That result was accomplished only by the vilest duplicity and the basest deception and trickery, and stands out in bold relief as one of the greatest scandals in the country and Republican contests in that Congressional district.

Record of Julius Cæsar Burrows as to Bills introduced by him in both Houses of Congress, and action thereon.

FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

First Session. One public bill for construction of bridge over the Detroit River. (Not acted on.)

(A similar bill introduced by Senator McMillan in the 53rd Congress was opposed by Mr. Burrows at the instance of, and in the interest of, the Pennsylvania Railroad, which was his "backer" in his Senatorial contest of 1894-5.

He introduced nine private bills, two of which became laws, and

reported four others from the Committee on Claims, which became laws.

Second Session. He introduced two public and three private bills, of which one private bill became a law. Public bills are viz:

H. R. 4269. Providing for the payment of certain expenses of holding United States Courts in the Territory of Utah. (No action.)

H. R. 4270. Providing for the punishment of contempt. (No action.)

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.

First Session. No public bill introduced. Seven private bills. (Four for constituents.)

Second Session. A bill (H. R. 2779) proposing an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting polygamy. (No action. Copied after other bills.)

Third Session. Four private bills. (No action on any.)

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.

First Session. Five public bills, all copied from other bills introduced. None relating specially to Michigan.

1. To amend law relating to advertising in District of Columbia. (Benefit of local papers.)
2. To fix fees of Internal Revenue Collectors. (Copied.)
3. Relative to damages for infringement of patents. (Copied.)
4. Relating to polygamy. (Old bill.)
5. To amend law relative to bounty. (Copied.)

He introduced fifteen private bills, of which two became laws. (But seven of these bills were for constituents.)

Second Session. Three private bills. (No action.)

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS.

(Not a member. Defeated by George L. Yapple.)

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS.

First Session. Seven public bills, all but two being copied from other bills introduced. Two relating to Michigan; none became laws and but two acted on.

1. To amend law relative to coatwise vessels. (Old bill.)
2. To regulate gas works in the District of Columbia. (By request of attorney.)
3. Relative to transportation of foreign mails on American steamships. (Copied. No action.)
4. To erect a public building in Kalamazoo. (No action taken.)
5. For survey of water route to connect Detroit River with Lake Michigan. (Representative Geo. Willard's bill of 43d Congress. H. R. 4971. Lake Michigan; for survey of route to connect with Detroit River. Reported.)

6. For relief of restored pensioners. (Claim agents' bill.)
7. To regulate duty on wool. (Copied. No action.)

He also introduced sixty-one private bills, three-fourths of which were at the instance of claim agents, the beneficiaries living outside of his district.

Second Session. One public bill as to coastwise vessels. (Old bill.)

Two private bills. (Not acted on.)

FIFTIETH CONGRESS.

First Session. Introduced ten public bills, all but three being copies of other bills introduced. One passed.

1. To amend law relating to coasting vessels. (Introduced in previous Congress. No action.)
2. Bureau of Public Documents. (Copied.)
3. To pay one month's salary to discharged employees. (H. Res. 3. To pay one month's salary to discharged employees. Passed House, and referred to Senate Committee on Appropriations.)
4. To print decisions of Interior Department. (Copied. H. Res. 101. To print decisions of Interior Department. Passed House and Senate, and became law.)
5. To erect public building at Kalamazoo. (Substitute H. R. 7595 reported. Not passed.)
6. To increase salaries of District judges. (Severens former partner beneficiary.)
7. To increase efficiency of Boards of Surgeons. H. R. 1549, to increase efficiency of Boards of Surgeons. Reported adversely. (Increased salaries.)
8. To increase efficiency of Medical Bureau. (Increase of salaries.) H. R. 1548, to increase efficiency of Medical Bureau, reported and debated, but not passed. Both of above old bills.
9. To classify pensions. (Copied.)
10. To pension prisoners of war. (Copied.)

He also introduced thirty-seven private bills, of which more than half were for people outside of his district, and but five became laws.

Second Session. No public or private bill.

FIFTY-FIRST CONGRESS.

First Session. Seven public bills, of which three were old bills previously introduced by him. Three were copied from other bills, and one was original, viz :

1. Commission on progress of colored people. (Copied.)
2. To refund import duties. H. R. 4730. To refund certain import duties. Reported. (Claim agents' bill.)
3. To erect a monument to Isabella, Queen of Spain. (By request of a lady.)

4. To improve Mississippi River. (Prepared for him.)
 5. To increase efficiency of navy. (Copied.)
 6. To increase efficiency of Medical Division of Pension Bureau. (Old.)
 7. To increase efficiency of Pension Surgeons. (Old.)
- No action had on these bills.

Mr. Burrows introduced sixty-eight private bills during this session, of which but twenty-three were for his constituents. The rest were for claim agents. Seven became laws.

Second Session. He introduced two public bills, copied, and one private bill during this session, none of which were acted on.

- H. Res. 294. Parliamentary History of Congress. (Reported back, but not acted on.)
- H. R. 12574. To adjust postmasters' salaries. (Not acted on.)

FIFTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

Second Session. Mr. Burrows introduced ten public bills in this session:

1. Granting right to C. W. & M. R.R. Co. to load freight at St. Joseph. (No action.)
2. To equalize by increasing Government salaries. (No action.)
3. To refund import duties. (Old bill. H. R. 5166. To refund certain Import Duties. Reference changed from Committee on Ways and Means to Committee on Claims.)
4. Improvement of Mississippi River. (Old bill. No action taken.)
5. To limit number of Civil Engineers in Navy. (By request. No action.)
6. To amend Section 10 of Sundry Civil Act of July 28, 1866. (No action taken.) H. R. 5458. To amend Section 10 of Sundry Civil Bill. Reported back, but no action taken.
7. To incorporate Washington and Benning Street R.R. Co., District of Columbia. (No action. Attorneys' bill.)
8. To extend Columbia Railway. (Attorneys' bill. No action.)

He also introduced twenty-two private bills, of which number nine were from his district. (Only one became a law.)

Second Session. Mr. Burrows introduced one public bill for a Washington attorney, viz: to close certain alleys in Washington, D. C. (No action.)

He also introduced two private bills, only one for a constituent—no action being taken on either.

FIFTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

First Session. Extra session convened on August 7, 1893. Mr. Burrows introduced eight bills, four public and four private, viz:

1. To erect a public building at Battle Creek. (No action.)
2. To amend act relative to Japanese indemnity bond. (Claim agents' bill. No action.)
3. To furnish decisions of courts in patent cases. (Attorneys' bill. No action.)
- H. R. 2695. To Improve St. Joseph Harbor, Michigan.
- H. R. 4578. To Improve St. Joseph Harbor, Michigan.
- H. R. 5165. To Improve South Haven Harbor, Michigan.
4. Granting pensions to prisoners of war. (Old bill.)

Of the four private bills but one was for a constituent.

Second Session. In this session Mr. Burrows introduced two public bills, one relative to the Eastern Cherokee Indians in Georgia, and the other relative to forfeited railroad lands. (Both claim agents' bills, Michigan having no interest in either.)

He also introduced twenty-three private bills, of which but nine were for the relief of his constituents, and but two became laws.

Third Session. Mr. Burrows was elected to the Senate in January, 1895, and took his seat January 23d.

He introduced four public bills, as follows:

1. Donating condemned cannon to Grand Rapids Soldiers' Home. (No action.)
2. To regulate navigation on the Great Lakes. (No action. Introduced by request.)
3. To punish shooting at railway trains. (By request of Penn. R. R. No action.)
4. For additional Circuit Judge in Sixth Judicial Circuit. (No action.)

FIFTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

1. In this session Senator Burrows introduced nineteen public and fifty-four private bills, most of which were introduced by request, the private bills being principally at the request of claim agents. The public bills are as follows:

1. To print agricultural bulletins. Mr. Burrows knew so little of the law that he made this measure a joint resolution, while the law required it should be in the form of a concurrent resolution.
2. Cherokee Nation. (Old bill. For claim agent.)
3. Relating to jurisdiction of Court of Claims. (Claim agent's bill. No action.)
4. To protect insignia of Daughters of American Revolution. (No action.)
5. To contract for advertising in District of Columbia.
6. Bill to regulate advertising in District of Columbia. (Attorney's bill. No action.)
7. To amend law relative to homestead entries. (Copied and no action.)
8. To erect public building at Jamestown, in New York.

- (Outside of State. Passed Senate and referred to House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.)
9. For relief of letter carriers. (By request, and no action. Henry M. Rose said to be retained by Postal Clerks' Association. Attended meeting of Association at Atlantic City.)
 10. To erect public building at Menominee, Mich. (The home of Sam Stephenson, his backer and banker. No action.)
 11. Donating condemned cannon to Michigan Soldiers' Home at Grand Rapids. (Old bill. Substitute reported. Passed Senate and reported in House. No other action.)
 12. To incorporate National Society of Daughters of American Revolution. (Reported adversely, House bill 3553 having passed as substitute.)
 13. To amend patent laws. (Introduced for an attorney. Old bill and no action.)
 14. For appointment of four additional Superintendents of Railway Service. (By request. No action. One to be for Henry M. Rose.)
 15. To reclassify railway postal clerks. (By request. Reported back by Mr. Burrows from Post Office Committee. Objected to and no further action.)
 16. To regulate anchorage and movements of vessels in St. Mary's River. (By request. Reported adversely and indefinitely postponed, House bill 4779 having passed as substitute.)
 17. Providing for unlimited coinage of silver and gold. (No action.)
 18. To relieve from seizure in admiralty. (By request, and no action.)

Of the fifty-four private bills but twelve were for constituents, and the rest were introduced at the request of claim agents. It was during this session that Mr. Burrows undertook to introduce in the Senate a tariff bill, on December 27, 1895. He stated, on securing the floor, that he desired to introduce a bill, and made an explanation of its character, saying that the bill he proposed was to restore to the dutiable list the articles taxable under the Wilson act of 1890. Mr. Burrows was called to order by Senator Sherman, who stated that he desired to call the attention of Mr. Burrows to the fact that the Senate had no right to originate a tariff bill, which, under the law, must originate in the House of Representatives, suggesting that it might be offered as an amendment to the House bill. Mr. Burrows replied that he intended to offer the bill that it might be considered by the finance committee and included as an amendment to the House bill. Somebody whispered to Senator Burrows that it could not be offered as a bill, and then Mr. Burrows got red in the face and sat down. Subsequently, after the Senate had adjourned, he went to the reporter of debates and interpolated these words: "Of

course I was aware of the fact that revenue bills could not originate in the Senate," and yet, in spite of this assumed knowledge and his long experience in the House of Representatives—nearly nine years on Ways and Means—he had deliberately tried to do it. Senator Sherman stepped on him promptly and hard, and then Mr. Burrows was compelled to offer his bill as an amendment.

An examination of the bill by an expert showed that the bill, enacting clause and reference, were in Senator Burrows' handwriting, and yet Mr. Burrows claimed the right of membership of Finance because he was an "expert" on the tariff.

2. In this session Mr. Burrows introduced three public and five private bills, viz:

1. To purchase site for Government Printing Office. For years there had been a contest and squabble over the matter of a site, and this bill was introduced by him at the instance of an attorney or lobbyist. (No action was taken on it.) Further reference will be made to this.
2. To give thirty days' sick leave to employes of the Government Printing Office and Bureau of Engraving and Printing. (No action taken on it. Over 3,000 employes being beneficiaries at an annual cost of nearly \$250,000.)
3. To incorporate National Grand Lodge of Order of Sons of Hermann. (By local request. No action taken.)

Of the five private bills introduced by Mr. Burrows, but one was for a constituent. One bill was for the relief of legal representatives of John Roach, of Pennsylvania. Roach was a great ship-builder in his day, and his representatives put the claim into the hands of "Nat" McKay, the celebrated "lobbyist," who for years past has been the "chum" and boon companion of Senator Burrows, who in the 51st Congress, as will be shown, got through McKay's bill, which he has repeatedly and publicly stated realized him but \$44,000 out of \$115,000 appropriated, the rest being paid members, court and Department officials to secure its report and passage and settlement. The recent appearance of Burrows and McKay in Detroit, where they jointly occupied room 16 at the Russell House, is too well known to need particularizing, but will be illustrated.

At the commencement of the 54th Congress, Mr. Burrows was made chairman of the unimportant Committee on Revision of the Laws, which had not met for years, and since his appointment as chairman has never met but once, and then only to have the committee approve, as a matter of form, Burrows' appointment of Henry M. Rose as clerk. No bill, resolution, or petition has been even referred to that committee during Mr. Burrows' chairmanship, and, as showing its unimportance, it may be stated that Mr. Rose left Washington in February last; returned here in June, remained two days and then skipped for Grand Rapids to resume the work of looking after Senator Burrows' campaign at a salary of \$2,200 per annum, or \$184 per month, every month Senator Burrows certifying

as chairman that Mr. Rose had duly attended and performed the services of clerk. For this absolutely unimportant committee, without business, and which has never met but once, as stated, Senator Burrows has a small but gorgeously fitted committee room on the ground floor, situated near the department of public comfort, the restaurant, the stationery room, the private elevator, and the private stairway, at the following cost:

Clerk, \$2,200; stenographer and typewriter, \$1,200; messenger, \$1,440; and laborer, \$720 per annum. Total, \$5,560, for doing nothing but work for Burrows' re-election.

FIFTY-FIFTH CONGRESS (EXTRA SESSION).

1. In this session Mr. Burrows introduced twenty-eight bills, of which five were public bills; all of which, save one, were bills previously introduced by him, but of which two were ever favorably reported back. Of the twenty-three private bills, but seven were for constituents, and by this is meant residents of Michigan. Two bills, one for the relief of the heirs of John Roach, and two others for the relief of the legal representatives of John Roach, were introduced by him and referred to the Committee on Claims, to which he (Burrows) personally requested to be assigned. Both bills were introduced within two weeks after the session commenced, and both were speedily reported back without amendment by Mr. Burrows, the most important appropriating \$330,151.42, of which "Nat" McKay, the lobbyist, was the attorney,—though not a lawyer,—McKay having a contract with the heirs and legal representatives for a fee of fifty per cent. on a completely adjudicated case.

On February 11, 1898, Mr. Burrows asked unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (S. 958) for the relief of the legal representatives of John Roach, deceased, reported by him from the Committee on Claims. The Chair stated that the bill had been read on a former occasion and objected to. There being no objection to its consideration, the bill was again read, and passed, without a word of debate or explanation or even the reading of the accompanying report. The bill provided for the payment to the legal representatives of John Roach, deceased, the sum of \$61,752.51 in full payment and discharge of the claims of said Roach and his assigns for work done and material furnished in the construction of the U. S. Double-ender Gunboat Peoria.

There having been some criticism in a New York paper of the intimacy between Senator Burrows and lobbyist "Nat" McKay, the fact being stated that Mr. Burrows had sought service on the Committee on Claims; that he referred three bills for the relief of the heirs and legal representatives of John Roach, the deceased shipbuilder; that he reported them without amendment, and passed one, without a word of debate or explanation, by unanimous consent,—for that reason he turned over the larger bill to Senator Quay, of Pennsylvania, in whose State John Roach lived and died, and the work for which payment was claimed having been done at

his shipyard near Philadelphia. On March 14, 1898, Senator Quay asked unanimous consent to take up Mr. Burrows' bill (S. 1116) to pay the heirs of the late John Roach, deceased, \$330,151.42 for labor and material, dockage and attention, and occupation of yards and shops for the gunboats Chicago and Atlanta, which bill had been vetoed by President Cleveland after a careful and thorough examination of the bill by Attorney-General Garland. The Chair stated that he had been informed that the bill had heretofore been read at length, when it was objected to; and the bill, without further reading, explanation, or debate, or the reading of the accompanying report, was passed by the Senate, the record of the entire proceeding taking exactly ten lines in the Record.

From this it appears that these two bills for the relief of the estate of John Roach, amounting to \$391,903.93, for which Mr. lobbyist "Nat" McKay, the bosom friend and boon companion of Senator Burrows, was attorney, both of which were introduced by Senator Burrows, at McKay's request, instead of being introduced, as they should have been, by a Pennsylvania Senator, were reported by Senator Burrows without amendment from the Committee on Claims (to which he asked to be assigned) and one of them passed by him, the two bills being passed in less than five minutes, without explanation or a word of debate as to their merits, and without the reading of the accompanying report, as is usual. It was stated on the floor of the Senate during the recent session by Senator Morgan, of Alabama, during the debate on the Methodist Church claim, that lobbyist "Nat" McKay had received one-third of the entire amount of the Roach claim for passing the same. This is an error, as he received one-half. Therefore, McKay, who is not an attorney or an educated man, outside of his knowledge of shipbuilding—which he has not pursued for over twenty-five years—receives a fee of \$195,500. Is it any wonder that McKay, with the great fees and sums which he has received from these and numerous other claims, is enabled to live in a palatial mansion in Washington, with a dinner table built for sixty guests, and to give magnificent banquets to members of Congress, Department and court officials who vote for or examine and allow his claims, besides giving liberal "subscriptions" for the campaign expenditures of some of his "guests" who "happen" (?) to be in Congress?

It will be remembered that during the first session of the Fifty-fifth Congress, after the Dingley tariff bill had been reported to the Senate by the finance committee, Mr. Burrows was appointed a member of the Committee on Finance to fill the vacancy occasioned by the appointment of Senator Sherman as Secretary of State. That vacancy had been purposely left open, neither side desiring it to be filled. There was a sharp contest between Senator Platt, of New York, from the East, and Senators Thurston, of Nebraska; Hansbrough, of North Dakota; Burrows, of Michigan, and Hanna, of Ohio, from the West. Senator Sewell, of New Jersey, for a time was a candidate, but instead went on the Committee on Ap-

propriations. The vacancy belonged to the West, and under the rule of seniority would naturally have gone to Senator Hansbrough, by reason of his long service. The ambition of Senator Hanna for the place was a piece of absurdity which in any other man would have been impertinent. The contest narrowed down to one between Hansbrough—who was entitled to the place—and Burrows—who was not. The Chairman of the Standing Committee on Committees, which reported the assignment of Senators, was Senator McMillan, of Michigan. He very naturally desired the appointment of Senator Burrows on the finance committee, upon the theory that he would thereby be enabled to do something more for Michigan than if he were not a member of the committee. He urged the fact that Senator Burrows had been a member of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives for some years, and that as a result he was well equipped for service on the finance committee of the Senate.

If any Senator had taken the trouble to examine the record of Mr. Burrows' service on the Ways and Means Committee, he would have ascertained that it amounted to very little. Mr. Burrows was a member during the consideration of the McKinley bill, and besides making a sophomoric speech—which was written for him by a member of the Protective League of Philadelphia and New York—receiving also other help—and a few dozen brief remarks on certain items—in which he was badly “roasted”—there was absolutely nothing to his credit so far as a knowledge of the McKinley tariff act was concerned. He was merely there and an automaton would have answered every purpose.

Mr. Burrows was also a member of the Ways and Means Committee in the Fifty-third Congress, which passed the Wilson bill. It was passed precisely as were the McKinley and Dingley bills—under whip and spur—and there was little or no opportunity for debate. Mr. Burrows made a speech and interjected a few cursory remarks on three or four items, and was again riddled by Democratic members, who demonstrated Burrows' dense ignorance of the tariff, and especially of the details of the bill. The Wilson bill went to the Senate; was there amended, the Sugar Trust Senators putting in everything they wanted, and was returned to the House. It was thrown into conference, and Mr. Burrows was one of the Republican conferees, but never met but once in full conference. The Democratic members of the conference committee—Senate and House—met and discussed the Senate amendments *pro* and *con*. Chairman Wilson and his associates flatly refused to agree to the Senate amendments, and reported a disagreement, and asked a further conference, which was agreed to by the Senate. The Senate Democratic conferees formally notified the House conferees—as did other Democratic members in the Senate—that unless the House accepted *in toto* the Senate amendments, the bill would fail. After dallying along for weeks without agreeing, Speaker Crisp took the bit in his teeth, and, through the aid of his lieutenants, forced the House to violate all previous practice and precedents, commit rape

on all recognized parliamentary law and practice, and agree to each and all of the Senate amendments.

It is known to all the leading members of the House and Senate of long service that Mr. Burrows has no more knowledge of the underlying principles and the specific details of the tariff than a page boy. His ignorance in this regard has been the subject of laughter and ridicule. He has posed as an authority on the tariff, and he has been jeered at and made a laughing-stock of by Senators who really knew something about the subject. It is a matter of absolute certainty that but for the intervention and hard work of Senator McMillan for Mr. Burrows he never would have been appointed on the finance committee. Senator McMillan's motive was laudable, but the difficulty was that his colleague was a novice instead of being an expert on the tariff, and the only good he could accomplish for the State of Michigan was by making trades and deals for trifling matters. His record on the lumber question is too well known to recapitulate. As a member of the conference committee he deliberately disobeyed the instructions of the Senate by its vote, which reduced the rate to one dollar. He was attacked and criticised for it, but, with his usual brazen assurance, laughed at all criticism as he has done in respect to the open and fair criticism of his public career by his constituents and the Michigan press.

When in the Fifty-first Congress—which passed the McKinley bill—he voted for free hides. In 1898, when a member of the finance committee, with the vast interests of Michigan at stake in this regard, he deliberately rejected the advice of "Uncle" Jim Monroe, Postmaster of Kalamazoo, and Judge M. C. Burch, one of his devoted friends and managers, who came here expressly to insist and demand that the Senator should stand by the interests of the farming, the tanning, and leather industry of Michigan and again vote for free hides, as his colleague would have done had he been present instead of being at Manchester-by-the-Sea. The interests of the furniture manufacturers of Grand Rapids, especially those interested in the glass schedule, were sacrificed, although Mr. Burrows pleaded, almost in tears, before the Republican conferrees—House and Senate—for a change in the schedule, which was favorable to the Pittsburg glass interest. He said to the committee—and he will not dare deny this—that his re-election to the Senate was at stake if he did not get what he wanted in the glass schedule, as well as a two-dollar rate on lumber. The conferrees heard him plead and beg for a concession, and coolly voted him down by a vote of eight to two. Evidently his colleagues on the conference committee considered it a matter of very slight importance whether he was re-elected or not.

For the first time in the history of Congress a conference committee of even membership was appointed. Senator Hanna had demanded that General Grosvenor, of Ohio, a member of the Ways and Means Committee, should go upon the conference committee to look after the wool interests of Ohio. As a result, and against the protest of Speaker Reed, a conference committee of eight on the

part of each house was appointed, as follows: Senators Allison, Aldrich, Platt, of Connecticut; Burrows, Jones, of Nevada; Vest, Jones, of Arkansas, and White, and on the part of the House of Representatives: Dingley, Payne, Dalzell, Hopkins, and Grosvenor (Republicans), and Bailey, McMillin, and Wheeler (Democrats). It will be remembered that Senator Burrows was called sharply to account by Senators Teller and Pettigrew for his misconduct, not only in respect to the lumber schedule, but for his violation of the instructions of the Senate, which had fixed the rate at one dollar, but which by the vote of Mr. Burrows in conference was changed to two dollars, and in the closing hours of Congress was rammed through with a bare quorum in the Senate, and no possibility of holding it twenty-four hours longer.

A publication in the *Northwestern Lumberman* of February 27, 1897, should not be forgotten. That publication was quoted by Senator Burrows as entirely reliable and truthful in all its statements during the debate on the lumber schedule. In that issue it said:

"Now, you take our average cut of the United States, and \$1 a thousand advance means what? It means \$35,000,000 to the lumbermen of the United States in a year. So, if we carry out this idea, \$1 duty does not take it to that. Lumber in Canada would come down a whole dollar, and it would not help us any. Get it up to about \$2 and then it would begin to have its effect. To illustrate a little further: There was a lot of gentlemen from the Northwest, up Minnesota way, in Washington the other day, and they were sitting in Senator Burrows' committee room. An interesting incident occurred there. Senator Burrows is chairman of the committee. The committee had not had a meeting for a long time. We happened to be sitting in that room, and one of the gentlemen from Minnesota had an envelope and a lead pencil. He walked around the room and he ciphered out a little bit, and he said: 'Mr. Burrows, do you know what \$1 a thousand would mean to this little crowd of men here?' There were not as many in the room as there are here. He said the advance of \$1 a thousand on lumber meant \$6,125,000 on last year's product."

From this it will be seen that the American people are to pay an annual tribute of not only \$35,000,000 to these timber or lumber barons, but at the doubled rate of two dollars per thousand will pay \$70,000,000 of "trust protection" which goes into the pockets of the little group of millionaires who dictate the election of Senators in the lumber States, and who had their headquarters during the pendency of the tariff bill in Senator Burrows' committee room on the Revision of the Laws, which committee never meets.

The argument is presented on behalf of Senator Burrows, and most strenuously urged, that his long service in the House and his four years in the Senate peculiarly qualify him to serve the State of Michigan better than anybody else who can be named. An examination of the foregoing table of bills—public and private—which have been carefully compiled from the *Congressional Record* by an expert who, during the entire period of Mr. Burrows' service in the

House, has been perfectly familiar with his course and record, will demonstrate conclusively the truth of the assertion that Mr. Burrows has accomplished not a single measure of importance or anything in excess of that accomplished by the "average member." It can be shown that the late Senator Conger accomplished more for Michigan in one Congress than Julius Cæsar Burrows has done in his twenty years of service. There may be some slight and unimportant errors in the statement of bills, but it has been verified by another expert who is entirely disinterested in the matter.

Julius Cæsar Burrows' Reputation in Washington as a "Columbian Orator" Fading.

NEVER A LEADER IN EITHER HOUSE
OF CONGRESS.

**His Intimacy With Lobbyist "Nat" McKay Has Wrecked
What Little Influence He Had Among Honest
and Conservative Members.**

The first speech of Julius Cæsar Burrows in Congress was made in the House of Representatives on December 17, 1873, on the repeal of the so-called "salary-grab" law enacted in the last session of the previous Congress. It was a popular bill, and everybody sought the floor to support it, Mr. Burrows getting five minutes in the "shuffle." In the course of his brief speech he stated that he was "unalterably opposed to any measure which proposes to restore the obnoxious mileage system. It is odious to the American people and unjust to the members of the House." At that time, as now, railroad passes were freely furnished to members of Congress on application, and the mileage law, therefore, which gave to members more than it actually cost them for travelling expenses, was a faulty system. In lieu of that, however, Mr. Burrows proposed a salary of

\$5,500 per annum, an increase of \$500 over the old law, and he voted in that direction.

On March 14 he read a speech on the interstate commerce bill, in which he denounced the railroad and other corporations of the country as "railroad monarchs," "giant manipulators," "corporate monsters," and generally rivaled Dennis Kearney in his abuse and denunciation of great corporate interests. The following concluding extracts from his speech will illustrate this:

"This mighty people in the main are tillers of the soil gathering from these acres an annual product of \$1,200,000,000. The value of these products depends in no small degree upon the facility and cheapness with which they can be placed in the markets of the world. *I would therefore make broad and deep every river within her borders as the means of the cheapest transportation, and through which her exuberant commerce might float unobstructed to the sea.*

"But, when you have accomplished this great work, the difficulty is not wholly removed. There are seasons of the year when these natural avenues are closed by the severity of our climate, during which period these products must perish or seek outlet through the State and over these interstate roads. If no restrictions can be imposed upon these corporations, the entire commerce of the West may be at the mercy of a single man, and such tribute may be imposed upon it as to utterly destroy its value to the producer, or place it beyond the reach of all consumers but the most opulent.

"That this commerce has felt the burden of unjust taxation at the hands of these railroad monarchs no one would presume to deny or justify. Seventy-one thousand miles of iron rail interlacing these States have enabled a few men to wield a power over commerce at once dangerous and destructive. But not here alone has its power been felt. It has manipulated caucus and convention, made and unmade legislatures, tampered with the purity of the judiciary; nay, more, it has stalked with royal retinue through the lobbies of this Capitol, marking its victims and smiling upon its pliant retainers.

"I know, sir, it is as much as a man's political fortunes are worth to stand in the pathway of this almost omnipotent power; but while I will go as far as he 'who goes farthest' in protecting these corporations in the enjoyment of every just right, they shall do no wrong to the humblest citizen if my vote or my voice can prevent it.

"In this spirit come the six million tillers of the soil, and ask protection at our hands. They come not with bullet nor bayonet; not with hostile banner, but with the ballot, that mighty—

"Weapon that comes down as still
As snow-flakes upon the sod;
But executes the freeman's will,
As lightning does the will of God."

It is more than probable that Mr. Burrows will recall this poetry, which was extensively quoted against him in his campaign for the Forty-fourth Congress, in which he was badly defeated by Allen Potter. It is noticeable that although Mr. Burrows has made num-

erous speeches since that occasion, he has never repeated this poetry, which is really of a very high order.

As this speech was made on Saturday, the day being devoted to debate only in the Committee on the Whole House on the state of the Union, the speech of the "Columbian Orator"—for it was in this Congress that that title was bestowed on him by the late "Sunset" Cox—did not attract special attention. An examination of it (Record, p. 2152 to 2157), in connection with other speeches which preceded it, will disclose the fact that it is made up principally from citations from other speeches and of quotations from decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, which had already done duty in the debate.

I was then clerk of the Committee on War Claims, and we boarded within two squares of each other on Thirteenth street. He asked me to assist him in the preparation of this speech, which work I very cheerfully did, carefully examining other speeches for judicial decisions, &c. We were then good friends, although I had opposed his election and supported Hon. Allen Potter for that Congress. Extracts from this speech were printed in the Kalamazoo *Telegraph*, and that paper highly commended him for his attack upon the "railroad monarchs" and his argument in favor of water transportation. No man looking over the devious and crooked record of Julius Cæsar Burrows during the past fifteen years in Congress would suppose that in 1874 he had denounced the managers of railroads as "monarchs;" would charge that these "monarchs" had "manipulated caucuses and conventions, made and unmade legislatures, tampered with the purity of the judiciary," and, finally, "had stalked with royal retinue through the lobbies of this Capitol, marking its victims and smiling upon its pliant retainers." One is reminded of the paragraph in "Lochiel's Warning"—

" 'Tis the sunset of life that gives me mystical lore,
And coming events cast their shadows before."

Little did Julius Cæsar Burrows then dream that he would ever be the pliant tool of great railway, telegraph, express, and other corporations; that, according to Schuyler S. Olds, he would ever "fry the fat" out of great manufacturers in order to reach the United States Senate, where he would be able to look after their interests. Little did he think that the time would come when he would stand up in both houses of Congress as the supporter of the Pennsylvania Railroad against the interests of the Michigan Central and the other great railroads of the State of Michigan, in the matter of building a bridge over the Detroit River, and yet, when a delegation of Detroit citizens came here only a little over two years ago in Gen. Alger's private car, and appeared before the Committee on Commerce of the Senate to argue in behalf of Senator McMillan's bill for the construction of a bridge across the Detroit River, Senator Julius Cæsar Burrows held back; had his doubts about the wisdom and propriety of it; thought it ought to be looked into; thought a

tunnel a better plan; wanted to wait to see how the big bridge over the Hudson River came out, etc. No wonder the managers of the Michigan Central and other Michigan roads have at last got their eyes open to the duplicity, treachery, and demagoguery of this man, whose star has been steadily fading since reaching the Senate, who is without influence in that body, and who, on the fourth of March next, if the legislature of Michigan does its duty, will suffer a total eclipse and retire to the obscurity of private life, where he would have been left after his vile treachery to the late Senator Francis B. Stockbridge, but for the kindness of that most amiable gentleman, and for other reasons stated elsewhere.

In the second session of that Congress Mr. Burrows made his celebrated "bloody-shirt" speech on the civil rights bill, which destroyed all possible hope of the admission of the Territory of New Mexico into the Union. The bill had been reported unanimously from the Committee on Territories, through the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Elkins, the delegate from that Territory, now Senator from West Virginia. As a result the bill would have been supported by the South almost unanimously, but the bitter and malignant speech of Mr. Burrows induced scores of Democratic members to change their minds, and the bill failed.

In the first session, Forty-sixth Congress, Mr. Burrows made a "set" speech on the legislative appropriation bill, also incidental remarks, in which the South was bitterly denounced. Still shaking the "bloody shirt."

In the second session he read a column eulogy on Zachariah Chandler, who had objected to and defeated the bill of Burrows' "dear friend," lobbyist "Nat" McKay, in the Forty-first Congress, and ordered him from the floor of the Senate.

In the first session of the Forty-seventh Congress he made a speech on the apportionment of Representatives under the census of 1880, on which speech I rendered him some assistance; but his "set" speech—so to speak—consisted of a carefully prepared argument by Robert P. Porter, subsequently Chairman of the Tariff Commission, on the bill for the creation of that commission.

In the second session of that Congress he was appointed Chairman of the select Committee on Mississippi River Improvements, and printed a speech on that subject, as well as on the river and harbor bill, which had been prepared by the clerk of the select committee, Mr. Crawford, a newspaper man of culture and ability, reporting a bill for extravagant levee appropriations for the benefit of plantation owners.

In the Forty-eighth Congress Mr. George L. Yapple, of Mendon, did the speaking for the Kalamazoo district, having defeated Mr. Burrows on account of the latter's wobbling course on the river and harbor bill, elsewhere stated, but more particularly on account of the broken pledges of the "Columbian Orator" extending over the entire district.

In the Forty-ninth Congress Mr. Burrows made a seven-column speech on the bill for the relief of General Fitz John Porter. Ex-

President Grant from his dying bed had declared that Fitz John Porter had been deeply wronged. Other military men of great renown, including Generals Sherman and Sheridan, had united with General Grant in that opinion. It was reserved, however, for Captain Burrows, who "went into the army late and retired early"—according to ex-Governor Blair—to denounce this bill and pander to the passing prejudice of the day, as he has invariably done throughout his entire Congressional career. Fortunately this speech of the "Columbian Orator" hardly made a ripple on the surface. The greater portion of it was printed without reading, and I remember distinctly the fact, as the papers of the day will show, that Mr. Burrows attracted no attention whatever. Later he made a five-page speech on the post-office appropriation bill, and still later another five-page speech on the Senate amendments to that bill, which speeches, it was stated at the time, were prepared by an official of the Post-Office Department, then, as now, a resident of the State of Michigan. He is still living in Washington, and still in the service, but I am not at liberty to mention his name.

In the second session he made a five-page speech favoring subsidies for a South American mail service, which was the pet scheme of Collis Huntington of Pacific Railroad fame. Who prepared this speech I do not know, but I do know this, that he displayed such ignorance of the details of the subject that he desired not to be interrupted as to its details.

In this Congress the Committee on Rules, following the recommendation I had made in a previous magazine article for the distribution of the several general appropriation bills, with other important reforms, made a report in exact harmony with my ideas. Mr. Carlisle was Speaker, and the report was made by Colonel Morrison, of Illinois, then chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. Mr. Burrows had not taken any ground in the matter beyond saying that he favored the taking away of some of the bills and generally supporting the recommendations I had made. Colonel Morrison is not an orator, and he was anxious to have Mr. Burrows speak in behalf of the report. I said to him, "If you will allow Burrows to close the general debate in a 'spread-eagle' speech, you will catch him." Colonel Morrison thereupon went to Mr. Burrows and asked him to make the closing speech on his behalf, saying that he would yield the floor for that purpose. The "Columbian Orator" jumped at the opportunity as a lively chicken would at a straggling June-bug, and made that speech on December 17, 1885 (Record, p. 292-3).

Any person who will take the pains to read it will discover that it is a good speech, and I take legitimate and lawful pride in it, for I wrote it. My speech closed with this sentence: "Let me say to this (Republican) side of the House that the day of deliverance from the oppression of the old rules is at hand. You understand what these old rules mean, and if you vote for them, it is a self-organized tyranny; and if hereafter the chains gall, do not complain; it is your deliberate act. [Great applause.]

"I trust, however, that this House will break these fetters, assert its manhood, and invite freedom, the freedom of the membership of this House, and adopt a code of rules which comports with the liberty of our institutions and the dignity and intelligence of this body, and enable the House of Representatives to meet in some slight degree the expectation of an enlightened constituency."

[Loud applause.]

The House then proceeded to consider the report under the five-minute rule. I left my seat at the Clerk's desk to go to my room to write up the morning proceedings in my journal. As I passed up the aisle ex-Gov. Long, of Massachusetts, now Secretary of the Navy, stopped me and extended his hand, saying, with a smile, "I congratulate you, Harry, on the splendid speech that Mr. Burrows has just delivered for you. It does you great credit." Of course I denied the "soft impeachment," and I presume I was complimented by at least twenty members, who knew I had written the speech which Burrows delivered. It will be a very easy matter for Senator Burrows to obtain from Secretary Long a denial of this assertion, if he desires to do so, and the Secretary's address is still, "Navy Department, Washington, D. C."

In the Fiftieth Congress Burrows made a seven-page speech on the Mills tariff bill. The Protective League of Philadelphia had furnished him a vast amount of material to use in attacking this bill, which Mr. Burrows found himself entirely unable to digest. I was then a special clerk in the Senate of the Finance and Appropriation Committees, and was engaged on tariff work. At his request, I went over this material, tabulated it, boiled it down, made many suggestions, and to-day I can take up the speech and point out many paragraphs which I had the honor to originate.

Later he made a three-column speech on the statue of Lewis Cass, most of the material of which was furnished him from Kalamazoo by a gentleman of recognized ability, who was requested by Mr. Burrows to collect material for this purpose.

In the Fifty-first Congress Mr. Burrows made a six-column speech on the McKinley tariff bill. The material for that speech also came largely from Philadelphia, some from Pittsburg, and some from Boston. I saw the material; was at his room often during the preparation of the speech, and was repeatedly made to suffer by hearing him repeat it, walking up and down the room, committing to memory some of its choicest passages.

I was removed from the office of Journal Clerk shortly after the commencement of the Fifty-second Congress, for the atrocious crimes of being a Republican and of having been very zealous in assisting Speaker Reed during the preceding Congress. Nothing of importance occurred, however, during that Congress, and Mr. Burrows made no "set" speech worthy of note. It was the day of "pop gun" tariff bills, under the lead of Mr. Springer, which were rammed through the House and then pigeon-holed in the Senate without receiving the slightest consideration.

In the Fifty-third Congress, first (extra) session, called by Presi-

dent Cleveland for the purpose of repealing the Sherman act, Mr. Burrows made a "set" speech on the free coinage of silver. It was a "straddle speech," and it rung the changes about the silver dollar being worth as much as a gold dollar, and it is a speech which ex-Representative Milnes, or present Representative Todd, could have made with perfect propriety and consistency. It was interspersed with a discussion of the tariff, and all the way through it Mr. Burrows labored heavily at the oar to show that the Republican party was the friend of silver and that there was no occasion for the existence of a separate silver party, the members of which ought to come in and support the Republican ticket. Of course, Mr. Burrows discussed bimetallism, and, of course, he juggled with that question, occasionally giving a slap at silver "monometallism," just to show that he was impartial. In the course of this speech Mr. Burrows went dead back on his speech of 1874, in the Forty-third Congress, and came to the defence of the railroad monarchs. The entire speech was a fraud, a delusion and a snare. It threw no light on the great living question of the hour ; it furnished no new information to anybody, and it was, therefore, a characteristic speech.

During the second session the Wilson bill was reported, and, as a matter of course, Mr. Burrows again discussed it. As elsewhere stated, this speech was largely prepared by Mr. Smith D. Fry, the correspondent of the Detroit *Tribune* and the private clerk of Mr. Burrows. He is an able and facile writer, and he marshaled columns and battalions of formidable statistics. It was a better speech than Mr. Burrows could possibly write, and it is the speech which Mr. Burrows desired printed in full in the Kalamazoo *Telegraph*, which Editor Dingley declined to do, offering to print it as a supplement if Mr. Burrows would pay the expense of its composition.

In the Fifty-fourth Congress Mr. Burrows went to the Senate. He made a speech, prepared by some statistical writer, on the subject of bond issues. But aside from offering a tariff bill, which was ruled out of order, as noted elsewhere, he did very little except to attract occasional attention by airing his oratory on trifling matters. In the first session he made a seven-page speech on the Dingley tariff bill, devoted, as one would naturally suspect, to the duty on lumber. The material for that speech was, of course, furnished by the two-dollar "lumber barons," and it is quite likely that the Blodgetts hired a "ready writer" to do the drudgery for Mr. Burrows. The speech is punctured with extracts drawn from the *Northwestern Lumberman* and other sources, and derives its chief importance from the fact that it proves conclusively the charge of Schuyler S. Olds, that Mr. Burrows had "sold himself, body and soul, to the Blodgetts, who had nominated in the bond, before they put up a dollar for his election, that he should stand to the last for the two-dollar lumber rate."

When the so-called Teller resolution was under debate in the Senate, Mr. Burrows felt called upon to define his position. That resolution was an exact duplicate of the Matthews resolution, which passed both houses of Congress twenty years ago, the Michigan

delegation then solidly supporting it, save Senator Chandler in the Senate and Mr. Ellsworth in the House. Mr. Burrows was out of Congress at the time, but he supported it on the stump, and I have his record on that point. When Mr. Burrows was elected to the Senate in January, 1895, he necessarily vacated his seat in the House, and a special election was called to fill the vacancy. Hon. Alfred Milnes, of Coldwater, was nominated and ran on a straddle platform, although it squinted hardest toward the gold side of the question. The Republican party had not then taken pronounced ground on this question, and in accordance with his uniform practice Mr. Burrows dodged the issue. No word came from him in that campaign in behalf of Mr. Milnes, who was elected by a very slender majority. Instead of his clarion voice, which, according to "General" Ynsef, "wakes the echoes," etc., Senator Burrows, according to Schnyler S. Olds, "skulked in New York and remained under cover, like the artful doger that he is." Mr. Burrows not only did not make a speech in behalf of Mr. Milnes : did not write a letter; did not contribute a cent, nor did he even send a "strengthening" or encouraging telegram. He was willing to sacrifice his old district in order to feed his vanity with the theory that he alone could carry that district. He was "casting an anchor to windward," so that in the event of his defeat for re-election to the Senate in January, 1899, he would be able to fall back on the old Kalamazoo district and return to the House of Representatives, as ex-President John Quincy Adams had done. In fact, he said as much to a member of the present Michigan delegation. Feeling, therefore, the necessity of showing his hand and that he was in harmony with the advanced ground taken by the Republican party at the St. Louis convention and later, he stepped into the Treasury Department one day last spring and asked Secretary Gage to suggest something new for him to say about the Teller resolution. Secretary Gage is a very busy man, and he had no time to write or even suggest a speech even for Senator Burrows. The Secretary is, however, fortunate in possessing a private secretary who is one of the most accomplished writers and statisticians in the employ of the Treasury Department. He called in that gentleman and turned Mr. Burrows over to him. The private secretary is also one of the most obliging and agreeable gentlemen in the Treasury service, and although burdened with important and responsible duties, really doing the work of three men, he expressed his willingness, as a matter of public duty, to write a speech for Senator Julius Caesar Burrows, which he did, and which that gentleman read (after making the preliminary request that he did not desire to be interrupted) with great unction. The speech was a fine one and was well read. It was written on Treasury Department paper, and I called the attention of the correspondent of a prominent Republican paper to the fact that Senator Burrows was reading somebody else's speech, and an inspection of the manuscript, which was turned over to the Senate reporter, after the Senator had concluded its reading, disclosed the fact that it bore the Treasury water-mark.

In fine, the older members of Congress and the veteran correspondents here have got the exact size of Mr. Burrows' brain and know his mental equipment. As a matter of courtesy, and to give a bit of *éclat* to the Republican side of the case, they give attention to a few opening sentences, and then, like the Arabs, "silently steal away." An examination of all his speeches—save those written for him—will show there is nothing that will live or which had any influence at the time. At his request I drew a resolution which he offered and the House adopted in the Fifty-second Congress, calling on the Secretaries of War and the Treasury and the Attorney-General for the amount of war claims pending in their respective departments and, as Acting Register of the Treasury, I was assigned the duty of answering for the Treasury Department. I made an elaborate report which was freely and frequently drawn upon by Republican papers and speakers throughout the campaign, and also prepared the outline of a speech for Mr. Burrows on that subject. I have his letters of request for assistance and of thanks to show for this work of mine.

JULIUS CÆSAR BURROWS MAKES TWO FARICAL CONTESTS FOR SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

JUDGE JAY A. HUBBELL REFUSED TO SUPPORT HIM FOR SPEAKER IN FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.—BURROWS GETS A VIRGINIA CARPET BAGGER IN HIS PLACE AND SELLS OUT MICHIGAN DELEGATION FOR IMPORTANT COMMITTEE POSITIONS FOR HIMSELF.—LORD, WILLETS, LACEY, WEBBER, SPAULDING, OF ST. JOHN'S, RICH, AND HORR LEFT IN THE LURCH.

The Forty-seventh Congress was Republican by a small majority, and Julius Caesar Burrows, having, under my tutorship and coaching—all of which the "world knows," and which he has verbally and in writing often acknowledged—become a fairly good parliamentarian, decided to become a candidate for Speaker. The other candidates were Messrs. Reed, of Maine; Hiscock, of New York; Kasson, of Iowa, and Keifer, of Ohio. As usual, there were two or three other minor candidates with complimentary votes from their State delegations, who dropped out of the race after the first ballot, these candidates, like Burrows, selling out for committee place. Mr. Burrows announced his candidacy in the last session of the Forty-sixth Congress, and made an active campaign through the winter and spring, summer and fall of 1881 for that place, with the net re-

sult of losing the vote and influence of Judge Hubbell, of the Upper Peninsula, then Chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee, and gaining in his place the vote of an obscure carpet bagger from Virginia, who was the personal property of Gen. Mahone.

Of the nine Republican members of the delegation but one—Horr, of East Saginaw—was originally for Burrows. Judge Hubbell was entitled to the support of the delegation for the Speakership, if the delegation desired to present a candidate. He had served continuously through the Forty-third, Forty-fourth, Forty-fifth, and Forty-sixth Congresses, and had become prominent and influential on the floor of the House. He was a member of the Committee on Appropriations of the Forty-sixth Congress, and was fairly entitled by his position to the honor. He did not seek the place, however, though better qualified for it than Burrows, but believed the delegation should support Mr. Hiscock, of New York, for the reason that the tariff and other great interests of New York and Michigan were identical in many respects, and that the delegation would be treated better by Hiscock than it would be by any other successful Western candidate.

Mr. Burrows' candidacy met no response whatever. All of the members of the delegation, except Judge Hubbell and Messrs. Willetts and Horr, were new members and had no acquaintance and could do nothing for him. He asked my assistance in the campaign, and I made an earnest and zealous effort in his behalf, but met with such little success that I was obliged to tell him just before Congress assembled in December, 1881, that he did not stand the ghost of a show for the nomination and that he had better withdraw, so as not to disclose his weakness. He steadily refused to do so, and up to the meeting of the caucus went about Washington boasting that he had at least thirty votes—precisely as he is now boasting that he has eighty pledged votes in the legislature—and when the caucus was held received exactly nine votes.

There was a stubborn contest, and after awhile, through the efforts of Senator Cameron and Representative Robeson, of New Jersey, the Pennsylvania delegation left Hiscock and "broke" for Keifer, and Burrows went with it, as per agreement, receiving in return a position on the important Committee on Appropriations and Chairmanship of the Committee on Territories, with a good committee room and an annual clerk. The other members of the delegation fared badly, except Judge Hubbell and Mr. Willetts, who was made a member of the Committee on Ways and Means in spite of Burrows' effort to keep him off, and they were entitled to these places and got no help from Burrows. Mr. Lord, of Detroit, was fifth on Foreign Affairs. Mr. Willetts, of Monroe, was put second on Judiciary and Chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Justice, which, like Mr. Burrows' present Committee on the Revision of the Laws, never met. Mr. Lacey was appointed fourth on Post Offices and Post Roads and fourth on the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures. Mr. Webber was appointed on Banking and Currency

and on the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions. Gen. Spaulding, of St. John's, by virtue of his splendid military record and conceded executive ability, was appointed on the Committee on Military Affairs and on Indian Affairs. Mr. Rich was appointed sixth on Agriculture and also on the Committee on Mileage which meets once each session. Mr. Horr—the protégé of Mr. Burrows—was appointed on the Committee on Commerce, which then had charge of the river and harbor bill. The members of the delegation, however, felt that they had been treated badly, and they did not hesitate to tell Mr. Burrows so in very plain terms, with the result, with the possible exception of Gen. Spaulding—who never quarrels with anybody—there was a great deal of friction in the delegation, and its influence was largely nullified by the efforts of Mr. Burrows towards his own personal aggrandizement.

During the first session of that Congress, Mr. Burrows voted for the river and harbor bill on its original passage by the House. Then he voted against the first conference report on the bill, which slightly reduced an appropriation for a harbor in his district, but increased immensely the amount for Michigan's great lake and harbor interests, amounting in the aggregate to over \$750,000. Then he voted to table the motion to reconsider the vote rejecting the conference report, and finally voted against the second conference report; and at last he crowned the absurdity of his crooked and "wobbling" course, after President Arthur had vetoed the bill by turning a double back somersault and voting to pass the bill over President Arthur's veto. I remember well the state of mind he was in while this bill was pending, and how the members of the delegation, except Mr. Willetts—who voted against the bill—pounded him for his inconsistent course. Mr. Horr, of Saginaw, told him in the cloak-room of the House, in the presence of a dozen members, while the roll was being called, that he was "a coward and a fool," and at last dragooned him into voting for the passage of the bill over the President's veto. His conduct in regard to that bill lost him the confidence and respect of the House, and from that time he was almost entirely without influence during that session.

BURROWS' SECOND PREPOSTEROUS CANDIDACY FOR SPEAKER.

Burrows Has the Solid Delegation After Much Dragooning and One Additional Vote, Another Carpet Bagger From Virginia, also the Property of Gen. Mahone.—Again Sells Out the Delegation.

The Fifty-first Congress was Republican by a small majority, and Mr. Burrows again decided to be a candidate for Speaker, making

during the second session of the Fiftieth Congress an active campaign for the place. The Republican members of the delegation were Allen, O'Donnell, Burrows, Belknap, Brewer, Bliss, Cutcheon, Wheeler, and Stephenson. Messrs. O'Donnell, Brewer, Bliss, and Cutcheon were the only members of prior service, and of all the delegation the only man who was sincerely and honestly for Burrows for Speaker was Stephenson—who could not influence a vote—then serving his first term. The Republican members of the delegation met at the "Elsmere," Mr. Burrows' boarding house, on Thursday night before the caucus and discussed the situation. There had been correspondence between the members of the delegation during the summer, and occasional conferences between them as they happened to meet in Detroit. It was clearly apparent that there was no "call" for Burrows outside of Michigan, and very little inside of it. Burrows made a great parade of pledges, claiming, as in the Forty-seventh Congress, that he had at least thirty votes pledged outside of Michigan. Most of the members of the delegation wrote me during the summer and fall asking as to the situation and Burrows' prospects, and desiring me to look the matter up. I replied frankly that I had written over fifty members to inquire what they thought about Burrows, and had personally inquired of fifty more who had visited Washington during the interregnum, and was able to say that the only man who "talked Burrows" was Hon. Charles S. Baker, of New York. Finally, at the request of Hon. Mark S. Brewer, of Pontiac—whose letter I happen to have—I wrote Mr. Baker, at Rochester, N. Y., on November 5, and asked him squarely if Burrows' claim that he (Baker) was pledged to vote for him for Speaker was correct or not. Under date of November 7—and I have the letter before me—he said, among other things: "I don't care very much about Burrows, although I think he is, perhaps, the best fitted for Speaker, all things considered, to be found in the Fifty-first Congress. You have made him a good parliamentarian, and that is what we want. Of course, you know the New York delegation has adopted the two-thirds rule to govern it, so I suppose we shall all have to vote solid for Reed."

I showed that letter to Mr. Burrows, who begged me to destroy it or give it to him. I refused to do either. I told him that I had earnestly supported him in the Forty-seventh Congress for Speaker, believing that among so many candidates he had a show, and as we had a solid delegation then it was all right; but I had learned more about him since, and in view of the very narrow Republican majority in the House—five to start with—and the necessity of having a strong aggressive and positive man in the chair, I thought Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, was best fitted for Speaker, with David B. Henderson, of Iowa, or Mr. Cannon as a second choice. I knew that the Michigan delegation was divided; that Gen. Cutcheon and two or three others thought Mr. Reed the best man; that Mr. Brewer was for Joe Cannon, of Illinois, as he would appoint Brewer on Appropriations; that O'Donnell and one other member were for McKinley, and that as a matter of fact, with the exception of Stephen-

son, the delegation didn't care even a half a dozen for Julius Caesar Burrows. I showed Mr. Baker's letter to several members of the delegation, as well as other letters I had received, among others one from Mr. Dorsey, of Nebraska, who Mr. Burrows counted on as "dead sure"—precisely as the "Orator" and "Friday" Rose are now counting on eighty members of the legislature as "dead sure" for him for Senator.

Mr. Burrows opened headquarters at the National Hotel, and subsequently took a parlor at the Riggs House. Members of the delegation drifted in and out; but there was no zeal, no hard work, no enthusiasm, "no nothing" in his behalf, for the candidacy of Mr. Burrows was ridiculed and riddled by the leading papers of the country, as well as by the Washington press—which put him in the "also ran" column—and if anything more had been needed to cast ridicule and disgrace upon it, it was furnished when Mr. Burrows accepted the offer of the correspondent of a Democratic paper of a large Northern city to act as his manager; and, as illustrating the character of the person referred to, I will say that he had not long before attempted to blackmail a prominent statistician of the country out of five hundred dollars by demanding that sum from him in return for surrendering a somewhat amorous letter from the statistician to a married lady—not his own wife—which had been inadvertently enclosed in an envelope addressed to this correspondent, while the letter to the correspondent had been enclosed in the envelope addressed to the lady. I stated the facts to Mr. Burrows, and they were verbally repeated by the statistician referred to; but it made no difference to Mr. Burrows, who thought that the correspondent might possibly "rope in" a straggling vote, which would turn the tide in his favor. The caucus met, and Mr. Burrows had the solid Michigan delegation—largely under compulsion—and a lone, lorn carpet-bag member from Virginia, from Gen. Mahone's district, a very respectable gentleman by the way, but under obligations to ex-Senator Mahone, who had "assisted" Mr. Burrows in some of his previous campaigns. In fact, the list of gentlemen who have "assisted" Mr. Burrows during his political campaigns is considerable—about twenty-five, to my personal knowledge—all of whom had interests pending before Congress, notably Gen. Mahone, who was anxious to sell a square of ground for a public printing office, to which measure Mr. Burrows was pledged, and yet when the time came to vote, Mr. Burrows walked out of the hall and left his friend, Gen. Mahone, in the lurch, although the Senate bill was defeated by only a dozen or so majority. Even the "pie-eating" Mr. Brewer has repeatedly admitted—particularly since he failed to get the Montreal consulate—that personally he thought it unwise for Mr. Burrows to run for Speaker while General Cutcheon was more than reluctant to vote for him, and only consented at the last to do so upon the most earnest and pleading statement and assurance that he positively had ten additional votes on the first and ten more on the second ballot. Fortunately for the country, the second ballot elected Mr. Reed, with the happy result of making Major Mc-

Kinley Chairman of Ways and Means, resulting in the wise and beneficent tariff act of October 1, 1890, prudent and judicious appropriations under Chairman Cannon, and finally a sweeping reform in the rules and parliamentary practice of the House of Representatives, in which last reform, I may say without egotism, I assisted, as the press of the day stated.

Imagine the consequences of having Julius Cæsar Burrows as Speaker of that House, with its slender majority, and the vast responsibility resting on that officer during that trying period. Think of what the country and the Republican party escaped !

SENATOR BURROWS AND PRIVATE SECRETARY ROSE IN THE ROLE OF "SCALPERS."

The Victim is Capt. Alfred Pew, of Grand Rapids, Messenger of Senator Burrows' Committee, Who is Monthly Robbed of Thirty-five Dollars to Help Entertain Senator Burrows' Guests.—Capt. Pew's Salary is \$1,440, but he Actually Gets but \$1,000 per Annum.—Shameful Robbery of a G. A. R. Veteran.

An astounding thing has just been developed in Washington through the Department of the Potomac, G. A. R., by the action of its Commander, Arthur Hendricks, of the Treasury Department, and will, with other cases, be made public as soon as Congress convenes.

During the Harrison administration, Capt. Alfred Pew, of the old Third Michigan Infantry, a resident of Grand Rapids, was appointed to a \$720 place in the Pension Office. During Grover Cleveland's second term, under the reform (?) administration of Hoke Smith, Secretary of the Interior, Capt. Pew was dismissed. He sought employment everywhere, and was promised (of course) a position in the Senate by Senator Burrows, the "hog combine" having disposed of everything in the House of Representatives. After a long and weary delay, Capt. Pew, on April 1, 1896, was appointed to a thousand-dollar place in the Senate, and assigned to duty as messenger to take care of Senator Burrows' committee room, Revision of the Laws (which committee has never met, no business ever having been referred to it), on July 1 following being promoted to a \$1,440 place with the same duties.

When Capt. Pew received his first month's salary, at the rate of \$1,440 per annum, he had been out of office some time and expended every dollar in paying debts. The following day "Private Secre-

tary" Rose notified Capt. Pew that he should have handed him (Rose) thirty-five dollars out of his salary, as that was the understanding under which he was appointed, he having said to Senator Burrows that he would be satisfied with a thousand-dollar place. Capt. Pew having spent the entire month's salary, as stated, was obliged to ask the grace of Mr. Henry M. Rose, clerk of the Committee on the Revision of the Laws (which never meets, etc.), and was allowed time in which to make up the said amount (\$35). He soon squared himself up, and from that time until the present date has regularly drawn his salary at the rate of \$1,440 per annum, and as regularly turned over to "Private Secretary" Rose each month the sum of thirty-five dollars, in accordance with the demand of Mr. Rose, the said sum being used—according to Mr. Rose—to entertain Mr. Burrows' guests from Michigan.

Think of such an outrage being perpetrated on behalf of a man who has become rich through the grace and favor of the Blodgetts and lobbyist "Nat" McKay, and who, to-day, instead of being the poor man that he represents himself to be, is easily worth one hundred thousand dollars! The paragraphs which have been peddled out by "Private Secretary" Rose to the faithful Burrows papers, and sent out through his literary bureau, about Senator Burrows' poverty are simply rotten and rank falsehoods. I have long known of his investments, and if an opportunity is afforded me to go before a committee of the Michigan legislature, I will show that committee beyond all peradventure that a large proportion of Senator Burrows' recently acquired wealth was obtained through speculations, while it stands to reason that the Blodgetts and lobbyist "Nat" McKay have been liberal contributors to his bank account.

More than two years ago Capt. Pew's wife, tired of being pinched on a salary of one thousand dollars a year, which her husband received when he was entitled to fourteen hundred and forty, the regular salary of his office—addressed a letter to Mr. Rose saying that, as her husband had gone home at considerable expense to help in the election of 1896, she hoped that he would thereafter be allowed his full salary which he was entitled to draw and which he as fully earned as did Mr. Rose his salary of eighteen hundred dollars per annum, working less than nine months each year. To this letter Mr. Rose responded that there was a distinct understanding between the Senator and her husband that he was to receive one thousand dollars per annum and that the excess of that amount was merely a contribution to pay his (Rose's) bills for entertaining Senator Burrows' guests from Michigan under the theory of being political expenses.

I have known most of these facts for the last eight months, and have stated them to friends in Michigan, saying that the matter should be kept quiet until a thorough investigation could be made. I have never met Capt. Pew, and, at the request of his many Michigan friends, who feared that an exposure of this scoundrelly performance of "Private Secretary" Rose would cause Capt. Pew to lose his position, I have refrained from making it public until now. I have

related the facts to several prominent Republican Senators, who have assured me that Capt. Pew shall not lose his office, even in the (improbable) event of Senator Burrows' re-election. Senator Foraker, to whom I related the fact, was furious, and stated that if this were true Senator Burrows' clerk should be dismissed from office and the Senator and clerk required to refund to Capt. Pew the money which they had improperly received from him. "Think," said Senator Foraker in the most indignant manner, "of a veteran soldier being treated in this shameful way under the guise of entertaining a Senator's friends (?). It is simply infamous, and I hope you will expose it and all other similar cases."

On the 27th instant I addressed a letter to Arthur Hendricks, Commander of the Department of the Potomac, Grand Army of the Republic, calling his attention to the fact that members of the Grand Army, employed at the Capitol—one member of my own post (Kit Carson)—were being "assessed" monthly by officials and sub-officials of the two houses of Congress, and stating a particular instance. To that letter I have received the following reply:

"DEPARTMENT OF THE POTOMAC,
"GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., December 27th, 1898.

"HENRY H. SMITH, Esq.

"DEAR SIR AND COMRADE: I am in receipt of your favor of this date, wherein you state that you have been informed that 'members of the G. A. R. (employed at the Capitol) were being defrauded out of a portion of their salaries through the action of subordinate officials of Congress,' and that in one instance 'a messenger (assistant doorkeeper) was on the roll at the rate of \$1,440 per annum, and was paid at that rate monthly, but was required by the clerk of the committee to which he was assigned, to turn over the difference each month between the sum of \$1,000 per annum and \$1,440 per annum, the amount of his annual compensation,' and that 'this was under compulsion.'

"In view of the fact that members of our order are suffering from this unfair and unjust act, and are thereby deprived of a portion of their livelihood, it would seem that some effort should be made to put a stop to a proceeding which diverts a portion of the amounts appropriated for their salaries, from legitimate channels, and places a hardship upon those whose services to their country have been such as to deserve better treatment.

"May I trouble you to make an investigation into these matters as speedily as possible, and report thereon, in order that the Council of Administration of this Department of the G. A. R. can receive such information as will enable it to advise the Department Commander as to the steps to be taken whereby redress may be afforded to these comrades of whom you have written.

"Yours, in F., C., and L.,

"ARTHUR HENDRICKS,
"Department Commander."

I thereupon set on foot inquiries and have ascertained, among other cases, the facts above stated, all of which are known, and have been for more than two years past, to at least four Michigan soldiers employed in the Government service in this city. I have also learned of other departmental cases which are not material to this issue, and it shall be my duty, as well as my pleasure, to draw a bill for presentation in each house of Congress after the holiday recess, making this sort of business a penal offence, if it is not already under the statute. My own impression—and such is also the belief of the United States attorney for the District of Columbia—is that there is a law on the statute book now which will reach Mr. Henry M. Rose, if not the chairman of the Committee on the Revision of the Laws, which never meets, etc., to wit: Julius Caesar Burrows, of Kalamazoo, the junior Senator from Michigan. Shades of Woodbridge, Cass, Stuart, Chandler, Howard, Christianity, Baldwin, Conger, and Stockbridge, think of such a contemptible petty larceny performance as this, and weep!

In this connection it is proper to call attention to the fact that with the exception of three days in June last, when "Private Secretary" Henry M. Rose did Washington the honor to make it a visit, he has been absent from his post of duty since February 10 last, drawing a salary at the rate of eighteen hundred dollars per annum, upon a voucher duly signed by Julius Caesar Burrows as chairman of the Committee on the Revision of the Laws, certifying that Mr. Rose has duly discharged and performed the duties of clerk to the Senate Committee on the Revision of the Laws, which has never met since he became its chairman, for the reason that it has never had a bill, petition, resolution or other paper referred to it. I wait with bated breath to hear the explanation of "Private Secretary" Henry M. Rose, manager in the present Senatorial campaign of Julius Caesar Burrows, of this nasty piece of business in the form of "scalping" the messenger of his committee—a veteran soldier—out of \$35 per month for over two years!

MORE PROOF OF PAYMENTS OF BURROWS' CAMPAIGN EXPENSES BY "NAT" McKAY.

On Thursday, November 24 last, while riding in an F street car to the Capitol, I met a gentleman, a former officer of the House years ago, and later a prominent official in the Navy Department under Secretary Whitney. This gentleman asked me as to the Senatorial contest in Michigan, saying that he had just left "Nat" McKay, who told him that Burrows would win, as he had recently come from Michigan and knew that Burrows was "fixed." This gentleman

further stated that McKay told him that he had "put up" liberally for Burrows before, and had just sent him a thousand dollars. We had further conversation about McKay, when he made the following remark :

"I was at his house and was shown through his gorgeous 'banquet hall,' and afterwards through the 'Dewey,' the hotel he is building. I asked him if it paid him to entertain so lavishly, saying that it must cost him a good deal of money.

"'Yes,' replied McKay, 'this thing comes high, but I have to have these fellows' votes.'

"'Are you not afraid some of them will go back on you when you want them badly?'

"'No,' replied McKay, 'every man who comes to my dinners will dance for me whenever I call him.'"

This gentleman added: "McKay is a shrewd, keen, but coarse fellow, and I am amazed that some of these members don't kick at the way he boasts about his power. He has repeatedly told me the names of at least a dozen members of Congress whom he has paid for their votes and services." And when I told this gentleman of his statement, made at his own table at a dinner party, that out of the \$115,000 which the Court of Claims awarded him, he only saved \$44,000 for himself, giving up the rest in order to put the bill through Congress, get as big an allowance as possible from the Navy Department, and as large a judgment as possible from the Court of Claims, he replied: "He has told me the same thing, and also that he paid every Democratic member but one who voted for his bill in the Fifty-first Congress, and also had to pay some Republican members for their votes."

I shall be very glad to give the name of this gentleman to any committee of investigation which the Michigan legislature may appoint to inquire into the truth or falsity of this statement.

McKAY S STRENUOUS EFFORTS TO STOP MY MAKING PUBLIC CERTAIN FACTS ABOUT, AND LETTERS OF, JULIUS CÆSAR BURROWS AND OTHERS.

Commencing last spring, Mr. John S. Blair, the attorney of lobbyist "Nat" McKay, whose office is in the same building where mine is located, has steadily and persistently, until within the last six weeks, endeavored to persuade me to "let up"—as he phrased it—on Senator Burrows and come to an understanding with him. On one occasion Mr. Blair said to me: "'Nat' McKay is a natural money maker. He is getting rich rapidly and will become very wealthy. He has a great many influential friends in Congress, as

you can see by the lists of guests at his dinners, and they include also the cream of the Departments wherever McKay has business. Now, I want to get you and McKay together so that you will stop your fighting and make money. You can help each other, and I will be very glad to bring you together at any time which will suit your convenience." I told Mr. Blair that I never could have any agreement whatever with McKay as to the claims business; that I was not engaged in that line of business, and that as Mr. McKay had not kept his word with me in years past, but had deliberately quarreled with me in 1894, taking my fight against Burrows as a pretext to refuse to pay me what he had agreed to for services rendered in the past, I would make no bargain with him whatever. Mr. Blair pressed me all through the spring to meet Mr. McKay which I steadily refused to do. I had been employed by Mr. McKay to accomplish an amendment to the rules of the House which Mr. McKay desired, and had received a retainer for that service. In September, after Mr. McKay's return from Michigan, he renewed his attempts to stop my warfare on Senator Burrows, and on Sept. 14 last, called at my office to further urge a reconciliation with Mr. McKay. I was occupied with a client, and accepted Mr. Blair's invitation to later go to his room. What occurred is told by the following memorandum, which I dictated to my stenographer immediately after leaving Mr. Blair's room on that day:

"Mr. Blair first accosted me at the entrance of the Kellogg Building and said that he had called at my office twice during the day but I was absent each time; that he had a letter from Mr. McKay, and he desired to have a further conference with me and would come to my room.

"I went to my office and signed some letters, and, after waiting awhile, went to Mr. Blair's office on the upper floor, as I was anxious to get home at once. Mr. Blair locked the doors and opened the conversation by saying that he had a letter from Mr. McKay from Michigan, and that he (McKay) was very anxious to bring about amicable relations between Mr. Burrows and myself; that Mr. McKay was a warm friend of Mr. Burrows and deeply interested in his election; that he (Blair) was also a friend of Burrows, and also desired his election; that Senator Burrows had been very useful to them in supporting their claims, and that both McKay and himself had claims pending in the 'omnibus bill' and otherwise, involving a great deal of money, and that Mr. Burrows could render them very great service; that I had said in a previous conversation that I was only making a living, but I could not make any compromise with Mr. Burrows or Mr. McKay; that Mr. McKay owed me money for services rendered during a period of several years, and that he had refused to pay sums of money due me which he had repeatedly promised, and that I would have no further dealings with him; that he recently promised to pay the sums due me and had treated me insolently, and that I had therefore withdrawn all claims upon him and notified him that I would do what I should have done before, expose his jobbery and robbery in the matter of

claims against the Government. Mr. Blair laughed at my heat and indignation about the matter and said: 'You need money as well as the rest of us, and you might as well join in against the Government as we do. McKay can put it in your way to make plenty of money, and is willing to do whatever you say to stop your raid on Senator Burrows, and, as a friend of yours, I want to bring about amicable relations. I want you to accept this present from me and stop attacking Mr. Burrows until you can see Mr. McKay. He will be here on Saturday or Sunday, and I want to bring you together.' I replied that I would never stop attacking and exposing Mr. Burrows while I live; that I regarded him as a corrupt scoundrel who should be behind the bars; that so far as Mr. McKay was concerned, if he would pay me the money he owed me, I would be through with him, except when called before a committee or court to testify as to the facts touching his claims and record.

"Having refused to come to any agreement in the previous interview, I had consulted friends and had been advised to accept any tender that Mr. Blair might make in the future and seal it up with a statement of the case, which I have done.

"HENRY H. SMITH.

"Sept. 17, 1898."

On Friday, December 30th, at 1.30 P. M., I called at the Riggs National Bank, in company with Mr. George E. Miller, the Washington correspondent of the *Detroit News* and *Tribune*. I asked for the letter or envelope containing one hundred dollars and the memorandum signed by myself which I left with Mr. James M. Johnson, vice-president of the bank, as a special deposit on September 17, 1898, with the understanding, indorsed on the envelope, that it was to be opened in the presence of Mr. Charles C. Glover, president of the bank, or by Mr. Johnson. Mr. Johnson being absent, the envelope was opened by Mr. Glover, who counted the money and said that there was one hundred dollars within and who read aloud the foregoing memorandum of conversation, etc. Mr. Miller placed his initials upon the original, which I still have. The suggestion of Mr. Blair was that on the return of Mr. McKay from Michigan he would pay me one thousand dollars if I would agree to make no further fight on Mr. Burrows, and, as stated, Mr. McKay called repeatedly and inquired of the elevator boy if I was in, saying that he desired to see me and to have me come to his house, which I refused to do.

Acting under the advice of a distinguished lawyer, well known to the country, whom I had consulted some time before, I received from Mr. Blair this money and enclosed it with the memorandum in an envelope, which I securely sealed and deposited in the Riggs National Bank of this city.

The attempts to bring about an understanding with Mr. Burrows were not confined to Mr. Blair, for on at least three occasions Mr. McKay called and inquired of the elevator boy if I were in, leaving word that he desired to see me. I had some conversation and cor-

respondence with Mr. McKay in respect to his payment of the balance due me for services rendered years ago in the collection and compilation of statistics relating to the construction of iron-clads, not relating to his bill, but to the general bill which authorized all claims for the construction of iron-clad vessels of war of all descriptions to be sent to the Court of Claims for hearing and award. Mr. McKay was employed by the different contractors or claimants as their agent or attorney in Washington, and I put in many a weary day compiling statistics and data on the subject.

Finding that I turned a deaf ear to all the appeals of Mr. Blair, they sought to reach me in another way. Letters were written by Senator Burrows to Representative Charles H. Grosvenor, of Ohio, and to Judge A. C. Thompson, of the same State, then Chairman of the Commission to Revise and Codify the Criminal and Penal Laws of the United States, whose office was in the same building as mine, stating that I was making trouble and asking them to see me and stop my "crusade" against him. I met Judge Thompson, who was a member of the Fifty-first Congress and my warm personal friend, on September 18, near my office. He had just been appointed U. S. District Judge for the Southern District of Ohio, at Cincinnati, and was to leave on the following day for that city. I had also arranged to leave by the same route but by a different train. Judge Thompson stated that he had just come from the White House and that the President was disturbed over the situation in Michigan, saying that the Republicans could ill afford to lose a Senator just now, and that from information received from Senator Burrows and others, it looked as though Gov. Pingree would capture the Senatorship, and, as a result, make the administration a great deal of trouble after March 4th next. I told Judge Thompson that such talk was nonsense; that Gov. Pingree had no thought of being a candidate for Senator; that he was running for Governor and nothing else, and that while I believed that Mr. Burrows would be defeated, it was absolutely certain that as good a Republican as himself or Gen. Grosvenor, or even the President, would be sent to the Senate as Mr. Burrows' successor. Judge Thompson invited me to his room, which was directly under my office, and we continued the conversation. He had indorsed me earnestly, as had Gen. Grosvenor, for an appointment as member of the Industrial Commission, as shown by the following paper.

OCT. 20TH, 1898.

HON. CHARLES H. GROSVENOR,
Athens, Ohio.

DEAR GENERAL:—About noon to-day I received a telephone message from First Assistant Postmaster-General Perry Heath asking me to call at his office about a personal matter. I did so in the afternoon, when he told me the substance of a joint letter, signed by yourself and Judge Thompson, in regard to the political situation in Michigan, especially relating to the "feud" between Senator Julius Caesar Burrows and myself. Mr. Heath stated that the

situation in Michigan was very grave; that Mr. Burrows had written that the fight I was making on him endangered his re-election and requesting that something be done towards placating me and stopping my attacks upon him.

Mr. Heath stated that the letter—which he presumed was dictated by you—required as a condition of your joint indorsement of my application for Secretary of the Industrial Commission that I should withdraw the charges I had made against Senator Burrows and agree to make no further attacks or fight upon him. I was very greatly amazed at this request, which I very promptly and indignantly refused to agree to. I am still more amazed that you should seriously ask me to debase or degrade myself by withdrawing charges against this dirty scoundrel—all of which are supported by proof from public records. I had supposed that you thought better of me than that, especially after your very cordial indorsement of June 18th last of my application for membership of the Industrial Commission. There was no condition whatever imposed on that occasion, and there should be none now. If the service which I rendered Major McKinley at the St. Louis convention, which you then certified to, was so valuable then, it has not changed in its character, and I would sooner sweep up garbage on Pennsylvania Avenue than agree to any such condition. I am not a seedy or needy applicant for office. I am making a living, and shall continue to do so after this scurvy cur Burrows has been retired from public life on the 4th of March next, as he surely will be.

I have been treated very shabbily in this whole business, and I do not propose to tamely submit to it. I understand and am entirely satisfied with the course of the President in not appointing me as a member of the commission without the indorsement of at least one Senator from my State, though the House delegation—save two—had indorsed my application. I had received the indorsement of all the leading Republicans of the Senate and House, and had the support of at least four members of the Cabinet; and for you now to ask me to recant and withdraw the statements I have made respecting Senator Burrows, and thus write myself down a liar and a fool, is something I never expected of you.

During your entire membership of the House of Representatives I have, from time to time, rendered you valuable service. I think the letter I wrote you in answer to your inquiry about "committee primacy," when you thought Mr. Reed was going to treat you badly, was of some service to you; likewise other matters I have looked up and dug out for you from the records of the musty past.

Senator Burrows will be defeated in a Republican caucus, as he ought to be. He is a hypocrite, a demagogue, a liar, and venal. In Oct., 1895, he was interviewed at Niles, Mich., and said he was for McKinley. Three days later, after reaching home, and finding a letter from Senator Quay suggesting that he might be available as a candidate for Vice-President, he repudiated *in toto* the Niles interview published in the *Tribune* and stated that the fight was still open and that the probabilities were that an Eastern man would be

nominated. Some time later the Chicago *Tribune* published an alleged Washington despatch—coming from the “anti-McKinley combine”—putting Burrows forward as a candidate for Vice-President, hoping to draw off Michigan delegates from McKinley. Burrows put his ear to the ground and listened. Not a leaf stirred! What is the use of trying to bolster up such a fraud as this creature Burrows is? He has no standing or character in the Senate; nobody cares a damn about his opinion on any question, and I suppose his re-election is desired principally by the two-dollar lumber ring, “Nat” McKay and Senator Hanna, as I observe by an authorized interview given out by Senator Hanna on the 12th instant that Senator Hanna says he proposes to “assist” Mr. Burrows, although the President is taking no part whatever in the contest. I notice that Senator Hanna is not “assisting” Senator Quay in the least, while Postmaster-General Smith is very earnestly “assisting” to put Mr. Quay out of the Senate.

I am a candidate for the place of secretary to the Industrial Commission on my record and merits. I have the strongest indorsement for membership of that commission, which ought to hold good for appointment as secretary, though, as a matter of fact, the secretary should be a man equal in ability and superior in experience to the members of the commission. My application will be presented to the commission when they meet here next month, and I shall file, with other letters and recommendations, a copy of the indorsement made by Judge Thompson and yourself.

I am quite sure that you will agree, on reflection, that your demand that I should withdraw the charges I had made against Senator Burrows—all of which have been sustained by public and private proof—and that I forbear making any further attack upon him, should never have been made. The Michigan legislature will send as his successor as good a Republican as yourself or President McKinley. He will be a man of integrity, ability and character, and not a man of the stamp of this venal creature, Julius Cæsar Burrows.

I have written Judge Thompson, who said to me on the C. & O. train to Cincinnati on the 19th ultimo, that if Burrows had treated me as I stated—which he did not doubt—I was fully justified in attacking him. Would you, after having attacked, openly, a political or personal enemy, giving figures and facts which could not be questioned, turn about, like a crab or crawfish, and withdraw them, and give a clean bill of health—political or otherwise—to the person you had thus assailed? I think not. You have been a pretty square and vigorous fighter, and I have always admired you for it, for I am that kind of a man myself, and I would see the Republican or any party a million miles in hades before I would think of withdrawing a single charge I have made against this man Burrows. That is all I have to say about the matter.

Very truly yours,

HENRY H. SMITH.

I was not appointed, because Senator Burrows had first selected Mr. Frank Waite, of Sturgis, who it seems talked himself out of the place, and then, upon the earnest appeal of Mr. William Alden Smith, Mr. E. D. Conger, editor of the Grand Rapids *Herald*, was chosen. Judge Thompson expressed his earnest desire, in which he said Gen. Grosvenor concurred, to see me have a nice position, to which I was fully entitled at the hands of this administration. He therenpon said: "I think there is one bureau office filled by a Democrat. It is a good place and would suit you. If you will stop your fight on Burrows, Grosvenor and I will present the matter to the President and get you appointed. The President wants to do something for you. I know, and if you will stop this fight it is as good as settled." I did not care two raps about the place—as my friends here know—but I wanted to make the record complete, and have done so.

I told Judge Thompson that I would not agree to stop my fight on Mr. Burrows, as he had been guilty of the grossest treachery to me, had fought me as bitterly as I had him, and had tried to injure me in every possible way, and that the only thing I would agree to do was to talk with the President, inform him of the situation in Michigan, and be governed by his advice. It was agreed that we should talk the subject over the next day, and I tried to make the afternoon train in order to join Judge Thompson, but failed, and we took the midnight train on the C. & O. I was surprised to meet the Judge on the train, and we had further conversation the next day until we reached his home at Portsmouth, Ohio. After giving him a pretty full history of Mr. Burrows' career, Judge Thompson said to me: "I don't blame you in the least for feeling as you do, and will write Grosvenor, and we will fix this thing up for you anyway."

On my return from the West I received a telephone message from Assistant Postmaster-General Heath, asking me to call at his office at my earliest convenience. I could not call until during the afternoon. What occurred is elsewhere stated, with the exception of the remark that General Heath said he had no personal interest in Burrows' election but was acting for General Grosvenor and Judge Thompson, who were exceedingly anxious, as was the President and Senator Hanna, that a Republican Senator should be elected from Michigan, and, second, that Governor Pingree should not be chosen.

Towards the end of November, as a matter of "devilment," I called Assistant Postmaster-General Heath up one day on the telephone, and asked him to fix a day when I could talk with him about another matter, and incidentally mentioned this subject. The following memorandum of that conversation was dictated to my stenographer and written out by him immediately after returning to my office.

"I asked Mr. Heath if he had received any reply from either Judge Thompson or General Grosvenor to his letter of last month, in response to their letter requesting him to see me and secure a pledge from me to stop my fight on Burrows. Mr. Heath replied that he had no letter and supposed the matter was dropped, as I was unwilling to withdraw the charges I had made against Burrows, or in

the least degree 'let up' on him. Mr. Heath further said that he understood that Messrs. Grosvenor and Thompson took less interest in behalf of Burrows now than at first, in consequence of the large Republican majority in the Senate, and he (Heath) was satisfied that the President took no interest whatever in Burrows' candidacy. All the President wants is a good Republican, and that is certain.

"I told Mr. Heath that I purposed making a statement of the facts, and of the attempts of Grosvenor and Thompson to stop me from making any further attack on Burrows, and generally to expose his rotten record as a matter of public duty.

"To this he replied: 'I have no interest in the matter whatever, and do not think the President cares a snap about it. So you must exercise your own judgment in the matter, and do whatever you think best about it.'

[Note.—I will add that scores of prominent Republicans to whom I have talked about this matter, and Burrows' record generally, have said it was my duty to the Republican party to expose him.]

EX-SENATOR THOMAS W. PALMER THREATENS TO "KNOCK OUT" JULIUS CÆSAR BURROWS FOR RE-ELECTION TO THE SENATE IF HE DOESN'T VOTE FOR A TWO-DOLLAR RATE ON LUMBER. THE SENATOR "DEAD SURE" THAT HE AND JOHNNY BLODGETT HAVE GOT A "MORTAL CINCH" ON BURROWS.

On Thursday, April 1, 1897, ex-Senator Palmer arrived at the Ebbitt House in Washington about four o'clock P. M. I met Mr. Palmer at the Fourteenth Street entrance to the Ebbitt and was invited to go to his room, the Senator saying that he specially wanted to talk with me about the Dingley tariff bill, which had passed the House the day before. Mr. Palmer did not register, but was shown directly to his room, for which he had wired. While removing the dust of travel and sipping a "gin fizz," the Senator made various inquiries of me as to the character of the tariff bill and what I thought the Senate would do with it. I replied that, as usual, the Senate would rip it all up and make five or six hundred amendments, but that this time the Senate would not have its way as it had in the tariff bill of 1883, and especially with that of 1894.

He then asked me what I thought of the lumber schedule. I replied briefly, stating my views in regard to the matter, saying that I believed the outcome would be a dollar rate. Thereupon the Senator quickly asked, "Where do you place Burrows in this fight

between the dollar and two-dollar lumber people?" To this I replied that while Burrows would naturally go with the Blodgetts if he dared, I thought the pressure would be so strong that he would be compelled to vote with Senator McMillan for a dollar rate. With great vehemence, the Senator snapped out, "He doesn't dare vote for the dollar rate! If he does, the *Journal* will 'knock him out.'" The Senator repeated this with still more vehemence, and ordered another "gin fizz," telling the waiter to make it extra strong. By that time the Senator had made his toilet and came over to where I was sitting, and, shaking his finger, with great solemnity, said: "Harry Smith, the *Journal* made Julius Caesar Burrows Senator, and if he breaks his pledge and votes for the dollar rate, mark my word, the *Journal* will 'knock him out' to a dead certainty." To that I replied that I sincerely hoped he *would* vote for the dollar rate, for I thought he had disgraced the State of Michigan long enough and ought to be "knocked out." After some further talk on that line, I said that the general impression was that the Blodgetts, Sam Stephenson, and lobbyist "Nat" McKay elected Burrows. "Well," said Mr. Palmer, "they helped, but the *Journal* sowed the seed or laid the foundation and pulled him through. I know as well as you that Burrows is slippery, but he doesn't dare bolt the track this time, for if he does, he is a 'gone goose.'" Then the Senator said that his trip to Washington was partly to see the Michigan Senators and do what he could toward getting Mr. Burrows on the Finance Committee to fill the vacancy made by Senator Sherman's resignation. I told the Senator that Mr. Burrows would not get on the Finance Committee if the truth was told about him, and in any event would not get there until the bill was reported to the Senate, which would not be for a month or six weeks.

Subsequently I heard about conferences Mr. Palmer had with the Michigan and other Senators, and I found also that he arrived in good time to attend a conference of gentlemen from Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, and elsewhere interested in the two-dollar rate. I also learned that he had made to others the same threats about "knocking out" Julius Caesar Burrows if he did not *keep his pledge* to vote for the two-dollar rate.

From this it appears that prior to his election to the Senate in January, 1895, Mr. Burrows had pledged himself, as Mr. Schuyler S. Olds, in a letter written me from Harbor Springs in August, 1897, says, "knee deep to the Blodgetts." Mr. Olds further said, in a pungent paragraph, "Burrows sold himself, body and soul, to the Blodgetts, and they nominated in the bond, before they put up a dollar to buy his election, that he should vote for the two-dollar rate on lumber." This is a slight digression, to be sure, but it seems appropriate.

I have Mr. Olds' letter before me, and I will give another extract. Referring to the money raised by the Blodgetts, Stephenson, lobbyist McKay, and others to buy the Wayne county delegation and other scattering votes which were for sale, Mr. Olds pointedly remarks: "Secretary Alger could tell a story that would damn Burrows to

eternal infamy, if he were not in the Cabinet ; but the facts will all come out in time." "In addition to the money paid by these people, Burrows 'fried the fat' out of several manufacturers, and I hope to be able to get permission from a gentleman in Chicago to publish Burrows' letter soliciting contributions toward securing his election to the Senate. I have a copy of it now, but am not yet authorized to use it." Probably no man in Michigan, besides the Blodgetts and Burrows, knows as much about the corrupt Senatorial campaign of 1894 as Schuyler S. Olds. He was obliged to stand still and see at least fifteen votes pledged to him bought from under him. In another letter from Harbor Springs he gives me some details of that contest, which would be very interesting reading. No secrecy or confidence was enjoined, but Mr. Olds wrote precisely as he had openly talked about that shameless barter by which fourteen votes were bought for Senator Burrows, precisely as Sam Stephenson told Mr. Burrows and "Uncle Jim" Monroe in Chicago, in November, 1894, they would have to do.

I am told that Mr. Stephenson has recently published a letter denying the truth of Mr. Britton's dispatch from Washington to the *Detroit News* about the middle of January, 1895, in which he is reported as making on the floor of the House the statement I have just quoted. I am also told that Mr. Stephenson's letter was published in the *Journal*, and for that reason I missed it. But if it be true that he makes such denial squarely and fully, he states a deliberate falsehood, for it can be proven by fifty men, mostly members or ex-members of Congress, that he boasted of this very thing to them and repeatedly bragged about his part in this corrupt transaction. I dined with Senator and Mrs. Arthur Brown at the Ebbitt House, where Mr. Stephenson was also boarding, towards the close of the Fifty-fourth Congress. After dinner we sat in the parlor, Mr. Stephenson being present ; and without any apparent reason or occasion for it, or the slightest hesitation, Mr. Stephenson again narrated to the Senator the fact that the Burrows people had bought fourteen votes, precisely as he predicted in Chicago, and that Burrows' election had cost him (Stephenson) eight thousand dollars. Ex-Senator Brown's address is Salt Lake City, Utah, in case Mr. Julius Cæsar Burrows wants to get a denial of this statement from him.

Mr. Britton told the truth, and, being an honorable man, he will not go back upon it. He may remain silent, for evident reasons ; but there were too many listeners to Stephenson's conversation on the floor of the House, which was correctly narrated in the *News*, to permit this belated denial from Mr. Stephenson to have the slightest weight or be believed by a single human being except a new and very credulous marine.

JULIUS CÆSAR BURROWS, AN OFFICE-HOLDER FOR OVER A THIRD OF A CENTURY.—HAS DRAWN \$100,000 SALARY AS MEMBER OF CONGRESS, \$7,268 MILEAGE, AND ABOUT \$3,000 COMMUTATION OF STATIONERY, THE FULL ALLOWANCE BEING OVER \$3,800, MR. BURROWS USUALLY DRAWING BUT A SMALL QUANTITY OF STATIONERY, USING WHAT HE NEEDED FROM THE COMMITTEE ALLOWANCE AND GETTING MONEY IN LIEU THEREOF.

It can be proven that Mr. Burrows has cost the United States Government over \$110,000, and in view of the fact that for the last sixteen years, and particularly during the last ten years, he has had his pocket-book crammed with railroad passes—annual and trip—carrying him all over the country, with steamboat passes to Europe and return free of expense, it will be seen that if Mr. Burrows is a poor man, as he and Mr. Rose have so sedulously claimed, after the frugal and “close” life that he has led, he must have “dropped” a good deal of money in stock and other speculations. In addition to this, as elsewhere stated, he has received in the neighborhood of \$25,000 compensation as a campaign “spell-binder,” not including the five thousand dollars out of which he “buncoed” the national Congressional committee in the campaign of 1890, nor the \$100 for speaking at Lowell in 1896. In addition to these immense sums of money which he has received as salary, for mileage, stationery, etc., he has been the recipient of thousands of dollars’ worth of presents from manufacturers, &c., such as furniture, carpets, beautiful dinner sets, pictures, vases, and the like—illustrating the protective principle—not to mention several thousand dollars’ worth of presents which he or his family have received, such as jewelry, pictures, etc., from his friend, lobbyist “Nat” McKay. All this talk, therefore, of the “poverty” of Senator Julius Caesar Burrows is not only idle nonsense, but rank, rotten falsehood, made and published for effect, as anybody who has access to his residence in Washington and in Kalamazoo will see. The citizens of Kalamazoo who know him best are all aware of his penurious habits and his weakness for accepting presents, and when Committee Clerk Henry M. Rose, who has been robbing Capt. Alfred Pew, messenger of the Committee on the Revision of the Laws, which has never met, etc., out of thirty-five dollars per month since July 1, 1896, puts out this sickening “rot” about Burrows’ poverty, he issues what he knows to be a deliberate falsehood, well knowing it to be such. If there is any way to reach the true figure of Senator Burrows’ wealth by a “bill of discovery,” or otherwise, I will organize a syndicate within twenty-four hours and pay him one hundred thousand dollars cash, take his assets, and make fifty thousand dollars out of the bargain.

SENATOR BURROWS GETS CREDIT FOR SECRETARY BLAINE'S RECIPROCITY SPEECH BEFORE HOME MARKET CLUB IN BOSTON.

During the Harrison administration Secretary Blaine was invited to address the Home Market Club, of Boston, on the subject of Reciprocity. The Secretary prepared an elaborate speech, which at the last moment he found he was unable to deliver. He asked two or three prominent gentlemen to act as his substitute in the matter, promising to turn over his speech to them to deliver; but by reason of important business or other arrangements they were compelled to decline. It then occurred to him that Senator Burrows was the only living "Columbian Orator," and he wired Mr. Burrows, at the House of Representatives, asking him to fill his engagement, repeating his offer to furnish the speech, which despatch Mr. Burrows showed me and others. Mr. Burrows gladly accepted and read the speech before the Home Market Club with great success, for, as everybody knows, Julius Caesar Burrows is an orator. A summary of the speech had been prepared by Mr. Blaine's secretary and furnished the agents of the Associated and United Press in Boston, and likewise copies were mailed to leading papers in New York, New England, and other points; so that all that was necessary was to strike out the words "Secretary Blaine" and insert in lieu thereof the words "Representative Burrows, of Michigan." I was told by a prominent member of the Home Market Club while dining with him at the Parker House last spring that he heard Mr. Burrows read Secretary Blaine's speech, and subsequently attended a banquet given in honor of Mr. Burrows. This gentleman said:

"I sat very near Mr. Burrows at the dinner, and subsequently near him on a sofa, and heard him undertake to talk about reciprocity, and I soon discovered that he knew as much about the underlying principles of reciprocity and the tariff as a pig does about international law." I replied to the remark that this was the way in which Mr. Burrows had secured his reputation, upon other people's brains; that nature had endowed him with a fine voice and an immense amount of gall, and that on these two qualities he had got ahead in politics. "Yes," replied this gentleman—a leader in Massachusetts politics—"and this is the way the reputations of many rural 'statesmen' have been made by Mr. Blaine."

HON. JAMES H. STONE SELLS OUT HIS INTEREST IN THE KALAMAZOO TELEGRAPH BECAUSE HE COULD NOT CONSCIENTIOUSLY SUPPORT JULIUS CÆSAR BURROWS FOR CONGRESS.

On Wednesday, August 4, 1874, Mr. James H. Stone, now United States Appraiser at the Port of Detroit, retired from the half own-

ership of the Kalamazoo *Telegraph*, with which he had been connected as reporter, editor and half-owner for several years. His interest was purchased by a syndicate representing the Burrows faction in Kalamazoo through Mr. Lyman H. Gates, then sheriff of Kalamazoo County. In retiring from the paper Mr. Stone, in his valedictory, said in part as follows :

" Two years ago when I yielded a reserved support to Mr. Burrows' nomination, that gentleman had not been tried and found worthy or unworthy. The undersigned could not conscientiously or consistently with his past editorial utterances indorse the Congressional record of Mr. Burrows, believing the same to be not only in conflict with party principles, but antagonistic to the general public interests. Nor did I hold that belief in the integrity and capacity of Mr. Burrows that was necessary to permit an indorsement of him as deserving a re-election to Congress. In view, too, of my belief in the existence of a wide-spread dissatisfaction with the candidacy of Mr. Burrows throughout the Fourth Congressional District, in a greater degree even than two years ago, when Mr. Burrows fell largely behind his own county, had I regarded that gentleman entirely fit to occupy a seat in Congress, in those ' off years in politics,' I could not have considered his nomination as either proper or politic. Whether there was any ground for these doubts as to his strength and availability as a candidate will appear next November."

The result of the November election fully vindicated the judgment and wisdom of Mr. Stone. Mr. Burrows, after making a most thorough canvass of the district with the aid of the strongest speakers in Michigan, as well as distinguished speakers from outside the State, and a large campaign fund behind him, was defeated by an overwhelming majority, although the remainder of the Republican ticket carried the district handsomely. Appraiser Stone knows lots of things about "Orator" Burrows.

SENATOR BURROWS ALWAYS THE PRESIDING OFFICER AT LOBBYIST "NAT" MCKAY'S BANQUETS.—DRAWS AN ACT THAT "NAT" IS A GOOD FELLOW AND A "JOLLY DOG."

Hanging in "Nat" McKay's office at his palatial residence on Thirteenth street, in Washington, is the following imitation of an act of Congress handsomely framed. It was drawn by Julius Caesar Burrows, who is supposed to be an expert on everything except the right of the Senate to originate revenue bills. The certificate is as follows :

Be it enacted, etc.,

That Nathaniel McKay, citizen and patriot of the United States of America, be, and he hereby is, granted long life and a happy one and that he have perfect good health throughout, and that for the purpose of aiding and carrying out the provisions of this act there be appropriated to the said Nathaniel McKay our token of respect and esteem suitable to his mode and style of good fellowship, in the selection of which we are not entirely unselfish.

(Signed) JULIUS C. BURROWS,

And Nineteen Other Patriots.

NOTE—The token above referred to is an enormous silver cut-glass punch bowl, with heavy silver ladle, costing some five hundred dollars.

It has been repeatedly stated that Senator Burrows has the freedom of McKay's mansion on Thirteenth street. This is the truth, and there is hardly a night during the session of Congress, when Julius Caesar Burrows has the leisure, that he doesn't drop around to "Nat's" and drink a glass of wine or partake of other refreshment. Senator Burrows always finds other "jolly good fellows" there, and the capacious wine cellars of "Nat's" are freely drawn on by his guests.

McKay was brought to grief about one of his dinners, which would have embarrassed anybody else but a man of his infinite gall. He had invited a number of Senators and Representatives to meet Senator Hanna, and a considerable number of members, say eight or ten Senators and twenty-five or thirty Representatives, with a sprinkling of Department officials who are so situated as to be of service to McKay, assembled to meet the Senator from Ohio. But Senator Hanna, in whose honor a most gorgeous banquet was given, did not appear, and from a publication in the *Post* of the following morning it would seem that he made no excuse for his non-appearance, although it developed later that he spent the evening out at a private card party. Mark Hanna has his faults and sins; but he is no spring chicken or raw marine, and, like his colleague, Senator Foraker, was altogether too shrewd to walk into "Nat" McKay's spider parlor like an innocent fly.

At least twenty prominent Senators and Representatives have told me that they have fully comprehended the objects of "Nat" McKay's banquets and that they always have previous engagements. It is to the credit of Vice-President Hobart, Speaker Reed, Senators Allison, Aldrich, Chandler, Cullom, Davis, Hale, Lodge, McMillan, Morrill, Quay, both Platts; Proctor, Sewell, Spooner, Thurston, Wolcott, and other prominent members of Congress who might be named that they have never accepted one of "Nat" McKay's invitations to dinner.

Mr. McKay once gave a dinner to Senator Hoar, who was his attorney in the suit brought in Boston against the estate of his brother Donald, who was the real shipbuilder of the family. "Nat"

McKay boasts of being a "retired shipbuilder," but he has never built a ship—except an imitation floral ship—since 1866, when he built the small steamer "Yi" for the Argentine Government. "Nat" McKay failed in 1866, and from that date he has haunted Washington, coming here in 1868 poor and living in a cheap boarding-house, while to-day he is worth over a million of dollars and interested in large contracts and claims pending before the Government, which, if half of them succeed, will make him worth two million dollars more within two years.

The Brule and Ontonagon R.R. Grant.

VILE TREACHERY OF JULIUS CÆSAR BURROWS TO COL. FRANCIS B. STOCKBRIDGE, HIS PERSONAL AND POLITICAL BENEFACTOR.—BURROWS ASKS STOCKBRIDGE TO KICK HIM FROM ONE END OF MAIN STREET TO THE OTHER.—"COLUMBIAN ORATOR" TRIES TO FIND LIVING ELSEWHERE.—UNABLE TO DO SO, RETURNS TO KALAMAZOO AND MAKES PEACE WITH STOCKBRIDGE.

On February 5, 1883 (second session, Forty-seventh Congress), Mr. Converse, of Ohio, one of the brainiest and purest members of the House, moved to suspend the rules and pass House bill 6735 to confirm and declare legal the acts of certain officers of the United States. The bill and preamble were read, the latter reciting the facts in connection with the construction of a railroad from Ontonagon to the Wisconsin State line, under act of June 3, 1856, and validated the acts of officers of the Interior Department in issuing patents, certificates, and lists of lands, etc. Distinguished counsel had been heard before the Judiciary Committee in support of opposition to the bill, with the result that the bill was unanimously ordered reported, the chairman of the subcommittee being Mr. Edwin Willits, of Michigan. Their report was ratified by the full committee, which reported the bill. Mr. Converse made a statement of the facts, and was followed by Mr. Horr, of the Saginaw district, who opposed the bill in the interest of Mr. Ezra Rust, of Saginaw, who had large interests in the land in dispute. Mr. Horr's reckless statements were disputed by nearly all the members of the committee, and it was shown by Mr. Manning, of Mississippi, that

twenty miles of the road were constructed in the dead of winter, three miles being on the top of three feet of snow.

He was followed by Mr. Ezra D. Taylor, of Ohio, the successor of Gen. Garfield, and one of the ablest lawyers of the House, who further explained the facts, which I have not the space to narrate. Mr. Willits, of Michigan, stated that he had voted for the bill in the committee, but that he would not now vote to pass it under suspension of the rules, although he had no amendment to offer. Judge Taylor was followed by ex-Gov. Robinson, of Massachusetts, one of the ablest, purest, and clearest-headed men in that Congress, who made a very conclusive and convincing statement in regard to the bill.

Senator Burrows had been slated to speak in behalf of the bill. At the request of Colonel Francis B. Stockbridge, who was largely interested in the passage of the bill, I had assisted Mr. Burrows in preparing a short speech in its behalf. Ex-Representative McGowan, of Michigan, was one of the attorneys of Colonel Stockbridge, the other attorneys being the firm of Britton & Gray, of this city. I obtained from Mr. McGowan their brief in the matter, and at Mr. Burrows' request made a compact statement of the case. To that Mr. Burrows made an addendum in the way of an eloquent appeal in behalf of the poor settlers, who, in good faith, had settled on these lands, under the authority of the Government of the United States, etc., etc. He had it copied by some person and turned it over to me to be sent to the editor of the *Tribune*. To the best of my recollection, Mr. Stocking was then its managing editor, as the paper had no regular correspondent here. I sent Mr. Burrows' speech, consisting of some 11 or 12 pages of foolscap, to Mr. Stocking, with an explanation of the situation and saying that the moment the bill came up I would wire him to have the speech put in type. The motion was made by Mr. Converse on Monday, when such motions only were in order two days in the month. On the Thursday prior to this motion being made Mr. Burrows came to me and said that he had concluded not to speak on the bill and perhaps would not vote for it, and asked me to wire Mr. Stocking for the return of his manuscript, which I did at once. I asked Mr. Burrows the reason for his "change of base" on this subject, and was told that as Mr. Willits, who was chairman of the sub-committee of the Judiciary Committee, had changed his mind about it, and as Judge Hubbell and Mr. Horr were against the bill, he thought it best to take no chances, as he was really not familiar with the subject or the provisions of the bill.

During the debate I observed that Messrs. Burrows and Willits, as well as Judge Hubbell and Mr. Horr, were very busy on the floor interviewing members. I asked some members thus interviewed what those gentlemen were saying about the bill, and was told that they urged, as a suit was pending, Congress should not act, that the bill was in the interest of Eastern capitalists, and that sort of thing. I did not then know that Mr. Hubbell had promised the vote of the Upper Peninsula members in the legislature for Senator respectively to Messrs. Burrows and Willits in order to get them to reverse

themselves, but immediately after adjournment I was told the fact. The Senatorial contest was then "on" at Lansing, and it was the "field against Ferry." Mr. Ferry was for the bill, and for that and other satisfactory reasons, Judge Hubbell opposed his re-election. That night I saw Mr. Burrows at his room and talked with him very freely about his conduct in respect to this bill. He stated that he was going out of Congress, and he voted against the bill, believing that it might make him Senator with the votes Mr. Hubbell had promised him. I asked him if he did not know that Mr. Hubbell had also promised the same votes to Mr. Willits. At first he denied having such knowledge, and then admitted it. I was very indignant at his course, without having the slightest interest in the bill, and said: "I don't see how you can go home and face Col. Stockbridge after helping defeat this bill to-day. You owe your election to the last and present Congress to him, and this, in my judgment, is the end of your political career in Michigan." To this he replied: "I know that very well, and I am going to leave the State. I am making arrangements to form a law partnership elsewhere, and, failing that, shall go to Dakota, where I will have a chance to come in as Senator." Mr. Burrows made some further apology for his conduct and vote, but I was too disgusted to listen, and left.

The next morning I received a telegram from Col. Stockbridge asking me to write him full particulars of the defeat of the bill and send him Record containing the proceedings, which I did. On February 11 I received a letter from Col. Stockbridge saying that he had received an apologetic letter from McGowan—one of his counsel—explaining the result, which was not satisfactory. "The fact of the matter is," said Col. Stockbridge, "McGowan is a tender-hearted fellow and does not want to say anything harsh about Burrows, though I suppose he thinks he has been pretty severe on him." In that letter, which I still have, Col. Stockbridge denounced Julius Caesar Burrows in the most bitter terms. I would print the letter but prefer to submit it with others hereafter. Subsequently Mr. Alexander Britton, of the firm of Britton and Gray, consulting counsel in the case, feeling that Mr. McGowan had not fully presented the enormity of Mr. Burrows' shameful conduct, wrote Col. Stockbridge at length, a copy of which letter I read and made an abstract of, which I still have. I was promised a full copy of the letter, which was made, but Mr. Britton's son and associate persuaded him not to give it out as a matter of precaution. That letter is in the possession of Schuyler S. Olds, of Lansing, as well as a copy furnished Mrs. Stockbridge at my request in December, 1894, which was sent by Mrs. Stockbridge to Mr. Olds at Lansing. I have Mr. Olds' letter acknowledging its receipt and saying that he would furnish me a copy provided I would furnish him a copy of another letter, saying that he "believed in reciprocity." Mr. Olds is in Lansing, I believe, and will speak for himself.

ODDS AND ENDS.

THE CORBETT CASE FROM OREGON.—SENATOR BURROWS CHANGES HIS VIEWS.—CONTESTANT CORBETT DISAPPOINTED.—BURROWS “BOLTED” FROM REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS.

The Corbett case from Oregon is too well known to need special mention. The legislature of Oregon failed to organize two years ago, and as a result there has been a vacancy, until the recent election of Mr. Simon, a sound-money Republican from that State. Henry W. Corbett, formerly Senator from Oregon, claimed to be elected Senator to succeed John H. Mitchell, whose term expired on March 4, 1897, and received the Governor's certificate. On January 26 last, Senator Caffery (Democrat), from Louisiana, made a report from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, concluding with the following resolution, viz :

Resolved, That Hon. Henry W. Corbett is not entitled to take his seat in this body as a Senator from the State of Oregon.”

That report was signed by Senator Caffery, of Louisiana (Democrat); by the Populist Senator from Nebraska, William V. Allen; by Mr. Blodgett's Senator, Julius Caesar Burrows, from Grand Rapids, with whom concurred Senator Pettus (Democrat), from Alabama, who put his vote on different grounds from that of Democratic Senator Caffery, Populist Senator Allen, and Mr. Blodgett's Senator. Senator Turley (Democrat), from Tennessee, is supposed to have concurred with the above Senators named, though he did not sign the report, it being stated by Mr. Caffery that it was a majority report. The views of the minority were presented by Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, with whom concurred Senators Chandler, of New Hampshire, Chairman of the Committee Pritchard, of North Carolina, and Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin, all able and distinguished lawyers, save perhaps Mr. Pritchard, who is an able and well equipped Senator, with a previous experience as an editor, and all Republicans. There had been rumors that Mr. Burrows was wavering, but his Republican colleagues on the committee did not believe it, and never believed it until he announced his purpose to vote against Mr. Corbett. Mr. Mitchell had been for many years a Senator; was an ardent silver man (like Mr. Blodgett's Senator until two years ago), and Mr. Burrows' conduct was a great surprise to his Republican colleagues. Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Burrows had been colleagues on the Committee on Claims, and Mr. Mitchell—like Mr. Blodgett's Senator—is said to be one of lobbyist “Nat” McKay's “steady

company." The report was called up in the Senate and debated at considerable length. On February 28 Senator Burrows read a long speech, consuming between two and three hours, which had been prepared by ex-Senator John H. Mitchell, of Oregon, discussing the law and gospel of the Corbett case, although in the previous session he was for Corbett. The speech occupies between twenty and thirty pages of the Congressional Record, and a comparison between it and the speech made by Senator Mitchell in 1892 on the Mantle case from Montana shows that they are substantially identical, the names simply being changed to fit the case. Less than half a dozen Senators listened to ex-Senator Mitchell's speech read by Senator Burrows, although it was an able speech, taking, however, the Democratic side of the case. The few Senators who did pretend to listen were reinforced by other Senators and by a half dozen ex-Senators, who were more or less interested in the case, among them being ex-Senator Mitchell and ex-Senator Call, of Florida, the last counsel for Corbett. The vote was taken at the conclusion of the speech of Senator Morgan, of Alabama, and resulted in agreeing to the resolution reported by Senator Caffery by yeas 50, nays 19. All the silver Senators and every Democratic Senator present not paired voted with Mr. Burrows to deny to Mr. Corbett the seat to which he had been elected according to the report of Senators Hoar, Chandler, Spooner, and Pritchard.

A PARAGRAPH WHICH WILL INTEREST GRAND RAPIDS PEOPLE, EDITOR AND COMMISSIONER CONGER, AND PRIVATE CITIZEN FRANK WAITE OF STURGIS.

The special attention of the "Columbian Orator" and "private secretary" Rose is called to the fact that Mr. Conger *desired to retain my manuscript as it was not impossible that at some future time he might want to avail himself of the (valuable) information and statements contained therein.*

Mr. Conger was *not* appointed postmaster of Grand Rapids, but by the indefatigable efforts of Hon. Wm. Alden Smith and the gracious condescension of Senator Julius Caesar Burrows, who "yanked" back the name of Mr. Frank Waite, of Sturgis (for talking too loud), after having given him "first choice," and obtained Senator McMillan's endorsement, and then substituted the name of Mr. E. D. Conger as a member of the so-called "Industrial Commission," that gentleman reached the Government "pay-roll." Can it be possible that this explains why the Grand Rapids *Herald* "took to the woods" just prior to the late election? God forbid!

The Solicitor of the Treasury has pointed out two acts of Congress, viz., Section 1784 R. S. and Section 11 of the civil service act of June 16, 1883, which will reach Mr. Henry M. Rose for extorting from Capt. Pew, a veteran G. A. R. man, the sum of \$35.00 per

month for over two years, and on behalf of the Commander of the G. A. R., Department of the Potomac, I shall on Tuesday next present the facts to the U. S. Attorney for the District of Columbia.

The railroad fare from Kalamazoo to Washington is \$16.75, and return trip with sleeper and meals pretty near spoils a \$50.00 bill. Yet Mr. Burrows is allowed \$316.00 as mileage and for 20 years probably he has never paid a cent of railroad or Pullman fare. There have been 23 sessions, which, at \$316.00 allowance for each, netted him the neat sum of \$7,268, all clear gain. And yet Mr. Burrows in 1874 denounced this mileage system on the floor of the House as "vicious and corrupt."

During the long service of Julius Caesar Burrows in both houses of Congress he was not aware that claims of the State of Michigan against the general government to a large amount—approximating \$300,000—have been pending in the Interior, Treasury, and War Departments.

Attempts have been made from time to time to collect these claims, and Judge Keightley, after his retirement from office in the second term of General Grant as third auditor, was appointed State agent and collected a considerable sum due the State from the United States. From time to time agents have been appointed, but nothing has been accomplished. An effort was made to induce Governor Rich to appoint an agent, which he refused to do. Claims of this character are due to many States in the Union which have agents at Washington to look after them. Michigan has had such agents in the past, and will probably have one in the near future, who stands a good show—it may be said with propriety—to secure a considerable portion of the amount due the State. Governor Pingree has looked into the matter and examined certain papers submitted, and in a carefully prepared statement, compiled by officers of the Departments named, and a committee of the agents of the several States, it appears that there is now probably due the State of Michigan from the United States a sum of money approaching \$300,000.

Why did not Representative Burrows, during his sixteen years' service in the House, and his nearly four years' service in the Senate, introduce a bill looking to the procurement of this money for the State of Michigan? Why has he not pressed these claims upon the heads of the Departments named? Certainly he could not have made himself more "solid" with his constituents and the people of the State generally than to have secured even a part of these claims. What is the explanation for his negligence in this regard? Is it because the eagle eye of his boon companion, lobbyist "Nat" McKay, had not detected the pendency of these claims submitted by other States? or is it because Mr. McKay could not secure them at a fee of fifty per cent.—his usual term—for the entire

amount collected? Let Senator Burrows explain his negligence and indifference to the interests of the State at large, or have it done for him—if he can—to the Republican Senatorial caucus soon to meet at Lansing. What account will he be able to render of his "stewardship" in the U. S. Senate since January 19, 1895, in this regard? Of course he will say that he knew that bills were pending to accomplish this result. But he never went before a committee or head of a department to urge their report and settlement. He has duplicated scores of other public bills, but this he omitted.

As illustrating the desperation of "Nat" McKay to stop my opposition to Senator Burrows and withhold any damaging statement against him by exposing his record, I will mention the fact that a leading writer on the *Evening Star* of this city told the Washington correspondent of a leading Western paper that Mr. McKay had confidentially told him that he had "just employed a lawyer to bring Harry Smith before the grand jury for trying to blackmail my friend, Senator Burrows." As "Nat" has fixed the local press against adverse criticism, I had a right to believe, and do believe, that this person was sent to warn me against making any publication against Senator Burrows. I wrote the *Star* reporter to come to my office and give me fuller information. He called, but beat about the bush in a vague way, which induced me to tell him I understood the situation perfectly, and supposed he was earning his stipend from lobbyist "Nat" McKay, and the incident closed.

If ex-Senator Thomas Witherell Palmer, owner of the Detroit *Journal*, which, according to Mr. Palmer, in April, 1897, "made Julius Caesar Burrows Senator, and would 'knock him out' if he did not vote for the two-dollar lumber rate,"—as stated elsewhere—will let his flexible mind wander to the contest when he was made U. S. Senator, he will recall the circumstance of a bit of attempted treachery on the part of Mr. Burrows, which was checked by Collector Digby Bell, of Detroit, and which that gentleman narrated with great force and unction at Senator Palmer's palatial residence in this city in the winter of 1885. Perhaps Senator Palmer would like to have his memory refreshed about the matter, and I shall be very glad to accommodate him. Mr. Palmer then denounced Burrows in the most bitter manner, and took frequent occasion to express his contempt for the "Columbian Orator."

It is possible that in the hurry of getting this material together, under peculiarly adverse circumstances, I have omitted to state that the claim of Julius Caesar Burrows—oft repeated by his satellites—that he procured my appointment as Journal Clerk and Assistant Register is simply an infamous lie, without the slightest justifica-

tion. I was Journal Clerk of the House of Representatives, and had been for four years, when Mr. Burrows "reappeared" in (the Forty-sixth) Congress, and although a feeble effort was made to reinstate the venerable Mr. Barclay, for thirty years the Journal Clerk of the House, it was promptly squelched by Speaker Keifer, who stated that he had no thought whatever of disturbing me, but, on the contrary, specially desired me to remain and assist him as I had assisted Speakers Blaine, Kerr and Randall and Speakers *pro tem.* Cox and Sayler. I have before me a letter from Gen. Keifer saying that "Nobody mentioned to me the subject of your retention, as it was thoroughly understood that you were to be retained. Certainly Mr. Burrows never mentioned it, for he was very busy looking after his own interests."

When I was removed by the Democratic Clerk at the commencement of the Fiftieth Congress to make room for a seedy cross-road country politician from Indiana, a place was promptly made for me in the Senate as special clerk of the Committee on Appropriations and Finance by resolution of Senator Allison, who has been my staunch and steadfast friend, as I have been his, for thirty years. When the Fifty-first Congress convened I naturally expected to resume my old place, and was astonished to find that a New York member had presented the name of a friend of Mr. Thomas C. Platt, of that State, for the position of Journal Clerk. I had the support of every other member of the New York delegation, but Speaker Reed wanted to oblige Mr. Platt and desired to appoint this person as Journal Clerk, making me his assistant and appointing me as clerk to the Committee on Rules, which offer I declined. I had the strongest sort of an indorsement, signed by every Republican member of the House save three (two absentees), insisting on my immediate appointment, and Speaker Reed called in consultation Messrs. McKinley and Cannon, of the Committee on Rules, and Gov. Dingley, of Maine, all of whom insisted upon my prompt appointment, to which Speaker Reed assented, and it was made.

Senator Julius Caesar Burrows had as little to do with that appointment as he had to do with writing the Ten Commandments, a majority of which he has broken.

As to my appointment as Assistant Register of the Treasury, I can only say that I was asked by Mr. Olds in writing—which letter lies before me—if I would accept the position, to which I replied in the affirmative. The Republican members of the Michigan delegation very cordially indorsed me, and Senators McMillan and Stockbridge visited the President in my behalf. Mr. Burrows made two visits to the White House and feebly urged my appointment, and then notified me that he had done all he could and that I must look out for myself. Having stated in an interview in San Francisco in the preceding summer that I did not believe President Harrison would be nominated, and that if nominated could not be elected, and that I thought Senator Allison should be chosen, my appointment was "held up" by President Harrison. I think ex-Senator Palmer will recall the facts very well. Upon telling Senator Allison

the situation, he made an appointment with Senators Sewell, of New Jersey, and Felton, of San Francisco, and visited the White House and *demanded* my immediate appointment, which was sent in the next day. That is the way I was appointed Assistant Register.

The truth is, that Mr. Blodgett's Senator never was able, during his entire service in the House, to render me any but the most trivial service. I was constantly helping him. I got Speaker Randall to put him in the Chair, taught him the rules and practice of the House, boosted him with the newspaper reporters until I found out that he was a fraud, a hypocrite, and a hopeless liar, and then I quit. I think I have made this matter sufficiently plain, and will leave it.

The duty was assigned me in 1889 of preparing a new code of rules for the Fifty-first Congress. Mr. Burrows came to me and asked if it were not possible to provide for the consideration of Senate bills which referred claims to the Court of Claims in all cases where similar bills had been reported by the House committee, saying that he especially desired to pass "Nat" McKay's bill, who was a good fellow and his particular friend. I told Mr. Burrows that in a magazine article four years before I had suggested this very provision, and I presented the matter to Speaker Reed, who approved it, and as a result I incorporated a clause in Rule XXIV providing that a Senate bill referring claims to the Court of Claims, if identical with a House bill on the calendar, might be held on the Speaker's table and considered without its reference to a committee of the House. It was under that clause that "Nat" McKay's bill passed by the Senate was passed by the House, and in the unprecedented period of one year a judgment in McKay's favor of \$115,000 was rendered, one judge not sitting in the case. No appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, through political influence exerted by McKay, and out of this sum he stated to me, and has stated to scores of people, whose names I shall be happy to furnish any investigating committee of the Michigan legislature, that he retained but \$44,000, the remainder being expended as elsewhere stated. It thus appears that "Nat" McKay received for building the Squando (vessel named) the sum of \$395,000, the contract price; \$194,526, extra allowance by the Navy Department in 1864, and \$115,157 additional by the Court of Claims judgment in 1892, or a total of \$704,683, a sum which is \$309,683 over the contract price.

It has been stated by one of the leading lawyers in Washington that if the case had been appealed to the United States Supreme Court, the judgment of the Court of Claims in McKay's favor would have been reversed under its decision in the case of *Choteau v. United States*, in what is known as the steamer Etlah case, which is identical with the case of the Squando.

It is not necessary to say anything further in regard to Nat McKay's career as a lobbyist. He has been paid over two millions of

dollars by the Government, directly or indirectly, which he has expended with princely liberality. No one charges that the gentlemen who are his guests are paid for their votes with money, but many of them are "assisted" by liberal campaign subscriptions, chief among whom is Julius Cæsar Burrows. On December 26, 1894, when I called at Mr. McKay's residence in Washington to ask him to pay me something of the balance due me for clerical services rendered him in the past, he plead poverty, saying that the "wolves" were after him on all sides and "hounding" him to death; that he had subscribed liberally for Burrows' campaign, and yet Burrows had just "pulled his leg" for one thousand dollars more. To at least a dozen gentlemen, whose names I will furnish, Mr. McKay has stated substantially the same thing. He has named to me and others at least twenty-five members whom he had "assisted," and this fact is so notorious that Mr. McKay has never even pretended to deny it. He has stated, and so has his attorney, Mr. Blair, to me that it was his (McKay's) habit to pick out each campaign the men that would be useful to him and help them through, putting them under obligations which they would not resist.

If Julius Cæsar Burrows has 82, 80, 75, 70 or a sufficient number of votes pledged to him absolutely, as "Scalper" Rose and others assert, why has he made such tremendous and frantic efforts to get "just one more vote"? And then, if he has the necessary votes, why has he made such equally tremendous and frantic efforts, through Representative Grosvenor and Judge Thompson, of Ohio, the leading and trusted managers of Major McKinley at St. Louis, next to Mr. Mark Hanna, and by "Nat" McKay and his lawyer, to stop me from further exposing Senator Burrows? Echo answers "NIT." He has not got the necessary votes, has never had them and will never get them. The members of the Michigan legislature are not particularly interested in the schemes of the Blodgetts, Tom Palmer, the Pennsylvania R. R., and lobbyist "Nat" McKay, even if the latter is a "jolly dog."

Michigan is one of the great commonwealths of the American Republic—the greatest on earth. It should be represented in the Senate by honest and pure as well as able men on whose name and character there is no stain. It has such a man in James McMillan. If it has not been shown in these pages that Julius Cæsar Burrows is *not* such a man, and the legislature of 1899–1900 is put on inquiry, I am not alone in making charges affecting the integrity, personal and political, of Julius Cæsar Burrows. If the legislature does its full duty it will appoint a joint committee to examine these and other charges which will be made, and it will ask Secretary Russell A. Alger, Arthur Hill, and other persons—myself included—to appear before such committee and make answer to such questions as may be asked. The honor of Michigan is at stake. Let not the pledges given to Mr. Burrows in ignorance of these facts and record

stand in the way of a full, fearless, and thorough investigation of these charges.

Let the truth be known though the heavens fall!

Michigan is rich in having men who will uplift its standing in the Senate, lowered by Burrows, the servile tool of the Blodgetts and lobbyist "Nat" McKay. It has in Albert Pack, a citizen of high character, ability, and integrity ; in Benton Hanchett, a peerless lawyer who will go to the very front in the Senate; in John Patton, an able lawyer with previous experience in the Senate, where he should have been retained ; in Thomas J. O'Brien, another able lawyer of fine judicial mind, and eminently fitted for the place ; in General B. M. Cutcheon, whose life has been spent in the service of the Republican party, with a distinguished record in the House of Representatives ; in Colonel E. M. Irish, of Kalamazoo, a fine lawyer and a gallant soldier.

And there are others !

But why argue the question in the face of the record of Julius Caesar Burrows, which I have in part presented ?

Michigan expects every member of its legislature to stand up like a Roman and Spartan on this Senatorial question, so that when it adjourns its members will not be ashamed to go home and look their constituents in the face.

